

# WOODBROOKE STUDIES

CHRISTIAN DOCUMENTS IN SYRIAC, ARABIC,  
AND GARSHŪNĪ, EDITED AND TRANSLATED  
WITH A CRITICAL APPARATUS

BY

A. MINGANA

WITH TWO INTRODUCTIONS

BY

RENDEL HARRIS

## VOLUME 2

1. TIMOTHY'S APOLOGY FOR CHRISTIANITY
2. THE LAMENT OF THE VIRGIN
3. THE MARTYRDOM OF PILATE

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## INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The present volume is the second of the series of the "Woodbrooke Studies" which I have drawn from texts contained in MSS. of my own collection.

I have followed with interest the reviews of the first volume of the "Studies" which have appeared in the leading theological and Oriental journals of Europe and America, especially those printed in Germany. I wish here to express my thanks for the appreciative remarks of all the scholars who have discoursed on the theme, and to assure them that I have taken notice of their words of friendly criticism concerning the form and arrangement of the "Studies" whenever I have felt justified in doing so, with a view to further improvement.

In answer to inquiries, I may here state: (*a*) that the photographic reproductions appearing in the "Studies" are executed at Bournville, Birmingham; (*b*) that my collection of MSS. on Christian literature in Syriac, Garshūni, Arabic and Ethiopic has been given in trust by Mr. Edward Cadbury to the Woodbrooke Settlement, Selly Oak, Birmingham, the name of which appears on the title-page of the "Studies."

A word of thanks is due to the Aberdeen University Press and to the Arabic and Syriac compositors for the satisfactory way in which they have performed a difficult task.

It is a pleasing duty to express my gratitude to my venerable friend for the vigour of his two Introductions and the virility of his inimitable style.<sup>1</sup>

A. MINGANA.

JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY,  
1st August, 1928.

<sup>1</sup> His curious slip to the effect that Luke was the recorder of the dream of Pilate's wife instead of Matthew has been corrected in the present volume.

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CHRISTIAN DOCUMENTS IN SYRIAC, ARABIC, AND GARSHŪNI  
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FASC. 4.

*The Lament of the Virgin and the Martyrdom of Pilate.*

### INTRODUCTION.

IN the present issue of the Woodbrooke Studies Dr. Mingana publishes two documents, which are associated together by the fact of a common Egyptian origin, and by their occurring side by side in the popular religious literature which was preserved in the Arabic language, as spoken by unlettered people, and recorded in the Syriac character, which combination of speech and script we call by the name of Garshūni. Of the popularity of this kind of story-telling and writing there can be no doubt; the particular documents to which we refer from the Paris Library and the Mingana collection, though they bear internal evidence of Egyptian origin, have come from a much wider field; they were found in Mesopotamia as well as on the Nile; and although they are not of any great antiquity, as far as the actual copies go from which we take our texts, the argument for their wide popular diffusion is made stronger by the observation that they are comparatively modern products of the Oriental religious mind. They must have moved fast, when they are found to have moved so far. Nor does their modern dress preclude the supposition that they may contain fragments of early tradition embedded in their pages, for it is precisely in such popular stories, the Folk-Lore of the Christian religion, that we are accustomed to find survivals of the most primitive beliefs and opinions.



The two documents before us are concerned, the one with the spiritual history of Pontius Pilate, who is made over into an accepted and glorified saint, accepted in the Church on the earth and glorified in the Church in the heaven ; the other with the sorrows of the Virgin, not this time at the cross, but rather at the empty tomb, where she has, as we shall see, exchanged personality with the Magdalene. We may call one of the documents by the title of *Pilatus beatus* ; the other, by an adaptation of the conventional form, may pass as *Stabat Magdalena*. The author of the *Pilatus* is said to be no less a person than the great Gamaliel ; the second is a sermon in which an earlier tale is retold, as the former was also adopted, not without much eloquence, by the Coptic Bishop of Behnesa, a place more familiar to modern scholars under its Greek name of Oxyrhyncus, and from the discovery of papyri associated therewith.

In the second volume of the *Patrologia Orientalis* there appeared a collection of Coptic Apocrypha under the editorship of E. Revillout, amongst which stood a number of Coptic fragments, of which Gamaliel was supposed to be the author, and whose contents were similar to those of the present document. In the same collection there was a fragment describing the appearance of Jesus to Mary at the sepulchre, where there is the confusion between Mary the Virgin and Mary Magdalene to which we have referred above. Clearly, then, the present documents are not entirely novel ; they existed, in part, in Coptic fragments of a similar type with which they must be carefully compared, and in so far as the connection can be made out, it is with the *Coptic Church* and its literature that we are brought into contact.

Not altogether novel, nor altogether unexpected. For, if we turn to the *Apocryphal New Testament* of M. R. James, we shall find that, after making a summary of the Revillout fragments, he adds in conclusion (p. 152) the following sagacious and almost prophetic passage :—

“It may be as well to register here the statement or warning that the Copts were tireless in producing embroideries upon the Biblical stories, and perhaps in rewriting older documents to suit their own taste. Only fresh discoveries of older texts can enable us to decide how much, if any, of the details which these later fragments supply, is really archaic.”



If we add to the words 'discoveries of older texts' the expansion 'and more complete texts,' we shall have almost a summary of the documents before us. They are fresh discoveries of Coptic embroideries upon Biblical texts. We will compare presently the Revillout and other fragments (or as, following Dr. James we may say, 'frills' of Biblical tapestry) with the texts of our documents, but first we must deal with the general question of the canonisation of St. Pilate and his appearance in the Calendar.

Everyone who studies ancient liturgies to which calendars are properly prefixed or attached, is aware of the importance that belongs to the calendar in determining the local provenience of a document. If we find a Psalter, Book of Hours or Missal, the first thing we do is to examine the calendar; if it records the sanctity of St. Theodulf, it is probably from the area of Orleans; if the Three Kings, probably from Cologne; if St. Denys, perhaps from Paris, and so on, with greater or less degrees of local definition. The obvious reason being that the saints have a preference for localities, or localities a preference for saints. It is not even necessary that the saint should have had a real existence. St. Lucy of Syracuse was probably invented to set off against the superior magic of St. Agnes of Catania, and both of them are probably apocryphal. Saints may be the badges of cities, the personifications of provinces. In this way they acquire political significance as well as local celebrity, though it may not always be easy to see what the political meaning is, for even great Churches cover their tracks, and as Jesus once pointed out, the religious world is divided into two sects, those who worship they know not what, and those who know what they worship. How many members of the Catholic Church can tell us why, in the invocation of the saints in the Mass, the names of the Apostles are followed, amongst other pious supplementary beings, by the names of Cosmas and Damian? All we can say is that these are imported from the East where they were a pair of twin-brothers practising medicine without fee, a very thin disguise of the Heavenly Twins; but why they came to Rome, who shall say? That they should become the patron saints of the *Medici* is more obvious. In this case we may fail to detect political significance, even if we are sure it was there.

A more clear illustration may be found to the above generalised statement as to political significance accompanying local provenience

in the case of the Twins who presided over Soissons and the area around it. How many churches are devoted to the memory of Crispin and Crispinian whose very names betray brotherhood by assonance. Yet these names have recently been restored to the proposed new Anglican Calendar, not because they are twins (which Heaven forbid !) but because they helped the English to win the battle of Agincourt and so led Henry V. to say through Shakespeare that

“Crispin-Crispian shall ne’er go by  
From this day to the ending of the world,  
But we in it shall be remembered.”

The liturgical sanction is, therefore, political ; it is also literary, and we may say, if we please, that Shakespeare is in the calendar, if we know what we worship.

Now in returning to our theme, which is the canonisation of Pilate, we observe first of all that it is local. Pilate is a saint in the Coptic Church. He is, also, a saint in the Greek Church appearing in their lists along with his wife Procula. We shall find all about Procula in reading our document. She is, in fact, one of the links in the evidence for canonisation. She attained celestial rank herself, and drew her husband after her. We must try and review the evidence. The Copts, indeed, have gone so far in conferring rank upon him that they regard him as a citizen of their own country as well as one of the high-born kinsmen of heaven. He is even reviled in our story on account of his nationality, as Pilate the Egyptian. So we may say that Pilate is a saint of the Levant and Egypt, but not, as far as one can see, of the Syrian Churches or of the Latins. However, we have learnt something, for if this liturgical acceptance is not universal, it will be very probable that where he does attain calendar rank, it will be reached gradually, for it is almost impossible to believe that any people who were familiar with the Gospels, or able to supplement them from the pages of the historian Josephus, should have, at one step, moved from the conception of a villain to the contemplation of a saint. The process must have been gradual, and the embroidery of Dr. James was attached to the story bit by bit. We must study the matter more closely in order to find out how the Jewish hatred for a wicked and rapacious governor was changed into a pious memory of the Christians.



Meanwhile we find we are in a position of historical advantage, for whether good or bad, rapacious or compassionate, we are sure that Pilate existed. Not even Mr. J. M. Robertson can prove his history to be capable of reduction to myth. There is too much about him in Tacitus, and Philo, and Josephus, over and above what we find in the Gospels, to allow us to regard him, at all events, as the villain of the Gospel Tragedy. We may have our suspicions about Procula, whom we find conjoined in canonicity, as we may have our doubts about the canonisation itself ; but Pilate is too firmly set in history to be capable of displacement.

In the earliest creed of the Church, so far as we can detect it in the dark backward and abysm of time, there are only three historical persons, Jesus, Mary, and Pilate ; Jesus was born of Mary and suffered under Pontius Pilate. When we think of this historical reference, we may be perplexed at the terms employed. They are commonly rendered 'under Pontius Pilate' (ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου) which probably means '*in the days of* Pontius Pilate.' We should have expected the creed to say, 'In the time of Tiberius' (ἐπὶ Τιβερίου) and if the statement is to have chronological value for those who were taught to recite the creed, Pontius Pilate bulks larger than the Emperor. We should not *a priori* have expected this ; it certainly suggests a very high antiquity for the creedal formula, even if one explains that it assumes the Gospel record. For as far as the Roman governors of provinces were concerned, they did not make calendars out of them ; they passed away, and the peoples they pillaged were glad to forget them. Does one make a Sicilian calendar with Verres in it ? But where is a Roman governor whom people over the wide area of the early Christian propaganda were glad to remember, and were instructed not to forget ?

The same thing occurs in the curious reference to Pontius Pilate in the Pastoral Epistles. These epistles, whatever may be the ultimate decision as to their authorship, are of much later date than the Gospels ; they were certainly written long after Pontius Pilate had come to a good or bad end. Yet we find St. Paul advising St. Timothy to remember that the confession of faith which he had himself made in the presence of many witnesses had a parallel in the good confession of Jesus Christ before Pontius Pilate. Here the same expression, ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου is used, and we can hardly translate it as 'under



Pontius Pilate.' It looks almost creedal ; so we have again, whatever the date of the document may be, a historical remembrance of the Roman governor, who occupies so great a place in the Gospel.

The point which we have made may seem to be trivial ; it is not really so. If we were writing the history of that time as contemporaneous observers, we should have said 'in the days of Tiberius,' or if we were Galileans, 'in the time of Herod.' Here we pick up our clue and the interpretation of the dignity which Pilate attained ; he has attained it at the expense, not of Tiberius, but of Herod. Why has Herod no place in the creed, no record in the noble confession of Jesus ? One bad man is as good as another in this connection, and the Gospels make no secret of Herod's contempt for Jesus. Pilate and Herod were made friends by the Trial of Christ. How then do they occupy such diverse positions as the history of the Church develops ? Is not Herod just as distinguished a historical character as Pilate ?

In the *Acts of the Apostles* the two are associated in the proof from the second Psalm that the heathen who raged and the kings and rulers of the earth who gathered together against the Messiah were *Herod and Pilate and the Jews*. They are all in the same condemnation for their impotent rage. We have to explain how Pilate became detached from Herod and dissociated from the Jews, and how he became a Christian and was revered as a saint. Our document will help us to understand the process ; but we are not limited to our late Coptic tradition or its Greek correlative. We can actually trace the beginning of the process in the times which immediately followed the publication of the Gospels.

When the fragment of the lost *Gospel of Peter* was recovered from an Egyptian tomb in the year 1884, the opening sentences of the new document were significant :

"But of the Jews no man washed his hands, neither did Herod nor any one of his judges ; and whereas they would not wash, Pilate rose up."

Here we have a definite removal of Pilate from the Jews and Herod ; and the writer goes on to make Herod and not Pilate pronounce the condemnation of Jesus. In Dr. James' introduction to the fragment, which he does not think of an earlier date than A.D. 150, he remarks that "another characteristic of (the Gospel) is its extremely anti-Judaic attitude. Blame is thrown on the Jews wherever possible,

and Pilate is whitewashed." It might be equally well said that blame was thrown upon Herod. So here we have, before the middle of the second century, the commencement of the process of canonisation, which, in its preliminary stage, may properly be called whitewashing. It is from the Gospel itself that the process starts, the uncanonical Gospel merely accentuating the statement of the canonical. Pilate washes his hands, and Pilate dissociates himself from Herod and from the Jews. That is the road to sanctity. The action of Pilate to which we refer became stereotyped in Christian teaching and in Christian art. The Catacombs record it, and, to come down to modern times, the great East window of Kings' College, Cambridge, represents Pilate as its central figure, washing his hands as the central act of his part in the sacred drama. So much of the tradition is probably continuous from the beginning; for we find when we read the Apocryphal *Acts of Pilate* that special emphasis is laid on the fact that Pilate took water and washed his hands *before the sun*. This may have been derived from the Gospel of Peter, for there must have been a reference to Pilate's action before we can say that 'none of the Jews nor Herod' washed hands; and anyone can verify for himself that in the *Acts of Pilate* the whitewash has been applied in a very liberal manner, and the anti-Judaic attitude is as pronounced, on Pilate's part, as possible. We even suspect that he quotes actual Christian *Testimonies against the Jews*, however unsuitable that may be for a Roman governor. The elongation between them has now gone far beyond what the Gospels assert.

If the point of departure for the canonisation of Pilate is the evangelical statement that he washed his hands in public, as if to disown the verdict which he was about to pronounce, a similar starting-point for his wife Procula will be found in the story of her dream, in consequence of which she sent a message of appeal to her husband not to countenance the attack which the Jews were making on Jesus. Here also the canonisation is a gradual evolution of legendary ideas. She obtains first a name, then a religion, and lastly a conversion: she is Procula, the Jewess; she becomes, as in our book, Procula the Christian.

There is, however, this difference between her progress and that of Pilate. We cannot be as sure of the historicity of the incident which Matthew records, and of the involved personality, as we can be



sure of Pilate. If we are asked why we should blur a figure which Matthew has inserted on his canvas, the answer must be made that, without unduly disparaging Matthew and his work, we must admit that Procula is not the only wife who has dreams and uses them as intercessory appeals with her husband on behalf of the abject and the suffering. For instance, we were engaged in a recent study of the *Apocryphal Life of Jeremiah*.<sup>1</sup> Here we found the statement that the wife of Nebuchadnezzar makes a personal appeal to her husband not to engage in hostile movement against the Jews, on the ground that they are the people of God, and obtain at once whatever they ask from Him. With this we compared the story in the Talmud,<sup>2</sup> where the mother of the Persian King, Shapor II, says to her son, "Have nothing to do with those Jews, for whatever they ask from their Lord, He gives it them." The queen-mother's name is Iphra-Hormiz, and when we notice that in the Jeremiah story she is *awakened out of sleep* in order to intercede for the Jews, the parallel between Iphra-Hormiz and Procula becomes even closer than that with the wife of Nebuchadnezzar. So we must reserve the question of Procula's historicity, for fear of falling into a cycle of folk-lore legends. Or, if we set that suspicion on one side, we may at least ask, in view of the sympathies which the Jews recognise on the part of Iphra-Hormiz with themselves, whether it is not natural to have regarded Pilate's wife as a Jewess, either actually or secretly. At all events the Apocryphal writers recognised her as such at a very early date; nor was there any improbability in the Roman Governor having a Jewess for wife. We have a similar case, and there must have been many more, in Felix and Drusilla. That Procula was a Jewess becomes an actual motive in the narration of the *Acts of Pilate*; for here we find Pilate using it as an argument with the Jews, when trying to dissuade them from further hostility to Jesus; accordingly, "Pilate called unto him all the Jews, and said unto them: 'Ye know that my wife feareth God, and favoureth rather the customs of the Jews, with you'? They say unto him: 'Yes, we know it.' Pilate saith unto them: 'Lo! my wife hath sent unto me, saying: Have nothing to do with this just man, for I have suffered many things because of him by night.' But the Jews answered and said unto

<sup>1</sup> *Woodbrooke Studies*, Vol. I.

<sup>2</sup> *Taanith*, xxiv., 2.



Pilate : ' Said we not unto thee that he is a sorcerer ? Behold, he hath sent a vision of a dream unto thy wife.' "

In this account there is no difference of opinion between Pilate and the Jews on the question whether Procula is a Jewess. They only differ on the point whether Jesus is a magician or not. If Matthew's account is genuine history, it must at a very early date have had attached to it the observation that Procula was a Jewess. After that the Christian story-teller has only to record her conversion to the Christian faith, such as we find her confessing in the document before us. Long before the *Acts of Pilate* were in circulation, Christian writers had taken steps to explain that Procula belonged to their fold and not to the other.

Origen could hardly be expected to keep his contemplative and allegorical mind off the statement in the Gospel that Pilate's wife had suffered on account of Christ. Was not such suffering a form of confession, the open door to sanctity ? He will not commit himself too absolutely to the proposition that Pilate's wife is, by the evangelical description, a Christian. " God only knows," says he, " whether the beginning of her conversion was the fact of her suffering many things for Jesus in a vision. It is, however, so stated in certain writings which are not among the authorised scriptures " (tamen continetur etiam hoc in scripturis quibusdam non publicis).<sup>1</sup> Here the conversion is assumed, and a reference is made to documents of a character similar to the one that we are studying. We have in this way obtained a rapid vision of the process by which Pilate's wife passed into the calendars of the Coptic Church as St. Procula, and the Greek Church as St. Procla. In the Coptic Church Pilate and his wife are commemorated together ; in the Greek Church their fellowship is not so evident ; indeed it is not clear from the popular Synaxarion why Procla is commemorated. The Zante Synaxarion has no historical introduction, but only the doggerel Greek verses with which every notice of a saint is summed up, in this case as follows :—

Ἐχει παρεστῶσάν σε, Πρόκλα, Δεσπότης,  
Ὁ Πειλάτῳ πρὶν σὴ παραστὰς συζύγῳ.

It is not very easy to make out the meaning of this : how did the Lord stand by Pilate ? and how does the Lord have Procla standing

<sup>1</sup> Origen, *Comm. in Matt.*, 122.

by him? These are very bad verses; they assume that Procla is a Christian; do they make a similar assumption for Pilate? How soon, in any case, did Pilate "strike the trail?"

According to Tertullian, Pilate was always a Christian, if judged by his conscience. Tertullian goes up to him and says, "Almost thou persuadest me that thou art a Christian."<sup>1</sup> The problem is, how to put that Christian conscience "on the film," where consciences are so hard to register, and where the mere washing of hands seemed an inadequate demonstration of faith. So it occurred to some Christian story-teller that the right way to stage the conversion, and make it historically incontrovertible, was to put Pilate through the very same sufferings which, in consequence of his lack of courage, were inflicted on Jesus. Let the unjust judge become the criminal, and let him be scourged and spit on and finally crucified after the manner of Jesus. This is the main thread of the story of Pilate as we have it in our document.

As we have seen above, it is to the Coptic Church that Pilate owes the greater part of his spiritual dignity; and this Coptic element in tradition comes out clearly enough in our documents, even though they should actually be written in Arabic. This does not mean that the original point of departure of the widespread Pilate literature was Egyptian. The nucleus of the mass of legends is the very early belief that Pilate made some sort of a report to Rome, which, if it ever existed and could be recovered, would be the official *Acts of Pilate* of which our existing *Acta Pilati* are a clumsy caricature. Such a belief in such a document is found in the Eastern Church as well as in the West. For instance, that very early Syriac document which Cureton published under the title of the *Doctrine of Simon Cephas in the City of Rome* has it in a very definite form.

"Touching these things the Governor Pilate was also witness, for he sent and made them known to Cæsar, and these things, and more than these things, were read before him in your city. And on this account Cæsar was angry against Pilate, etc."

It is clear that the existence of an official report from Pilate to Tiberius was common belief in the Church everywhere and not limited to Egypt. That our documents have a Coptic ancestry is

<sup>1</sup> *Ap.*, 21.



evident from their study both internal and external. Here is a curious bit of evidence which might easily escape notice, but will be significant to those who are expert in the study of ancient documents. When Pilate is challenged by the imperial messenger who has come from Tiberius, and asked to explain why he killed Jesus without consulting the Emperor, he expresses his willingness to die for the name of Christ. The Jews then say to the imperial envoy: "What is the use of speaking to him while he insults you *in the Coptic language?*" a sentence which will be perplexing to most readers: but there is something like the same perplexity in the English Bible in the Book of Daniel (Dan. ii. 4), where we are told that the magicians said to the king *in Syriac*, etc. What really happened was that there was a linguistic change in the document at this point from Hebrew to Syriac or Aramaic, and this change has been noted on the margin and has affected the speech of the magicians. In the same way the words *in the Coptic language* have crept into our text. They only mean that there has been a change of dialect, probably from Arabic to Coptic, in the original documents. There is no need to make Pilate talk Coptic, even if he is elsewhere called an Egyptian. Other traces of Coptic in the tradition of our Pilate story will easily be detected.

We are not, however, limited to a study of our MSS. when we affirm the existence of Egyptian elements in the tradition. As we have already pointed out, there are in existence a number of Coptic documents, chiefly preserved in fragments, which are of considerable age and occupy themselves with the very same theme as those here presented. The principal of these is the series which were published by M. Revillout, and are reproduced in the second volume of the *Patrologia Orientalis*. Although only a series of fragments, the major part of them form a part of a lost document, written in the name of Gamaliel, and forming what we may call *the Gamaliel book* on Pontius Pilate and the Sorrows of the Virgin. But this is the very same authorship that is suggested in our MSS. Our text, although recurring in somewhat diverse forms, is a Gamaliel book.

The proof of these statements is not difficult. We have an account of the way in which Barabbas, who is here called Barnaban, plotted with the Jews, using his wicked wife as an intermediary, in order to secure the arrest of the Saviour. Then we are told that "after this the wicked company of the Jews resolved to kill Pilate and his wife



and his children and to plunder their possessions. ‘*When I, Gamaliel, learnt the conspiracy of these wicked people, I did not neglect the matter, but I hastened to Joseph of Arimathea, etc.*’” Here it will be noticed that the indirect narration of the historian has suddenly become direct, and Gamaliel is the speaker. The book, then, may rightly be described as a Gamaliel book.

Again, we have an account of the onslaught made by the Jews upon Joseph and Nicodemus for the part which they had in the burial of the Lord. The angel Gabriel comes to their aid, and then we are told that “those two blessed ones (i.e. Joseph and Nicodemus) sent for me in secret, me, Gamaliel, and narrated to me what the angel had spoken to them.” The narration has now changed into *oratio recta* and Gamaliel is the speaker. Turn next to the second section of our story, that which relates especially to the sorrows of the Virgin and read the concluding paragraph :—

“Let us here end the discourse on the Virgin and her sweet wailing, and on the death and resurrection of her Son from the dead. These words have been written by Gamaliel and Nicodemus, the venerable chiefs, and they placed them in Jerusalem, the holy city.”

Here we have an external testimony to be joined to the previous internal evidence that the whole of our documents profess to be by the hand of Gamaliel. But Gamaliel is in the text as well as in the colophon ; for in the text we have, “I Gamaliel was following the crowd to the well that was in the garden.”

If now we turn to the Revillout fragments either as printed in Coptic and translated in the *Patrologia Orientalis*, or as summarised by Dr. M. R. James in his *Apocryphal New Testament*, we shall find that the thirteenth fragment begins with a dialogue between Pilate and the Centurion, who go to the garden of Joseph, where the Jews say the body of Jesus lies at the bottom of a well. The story moves into the direct narration, “And I, Gamaliel, followed them among the band.” So here, also, we have the assumed Gamaliel authorship, and an almost exact coincidence with our text.

It was not difficult, even before the discovery of our documents, to infer that the major part of the Revillout fragments belonged to a single book. Revillout, indeed, was wrong in calling this book by the name of the *Gospel of the Twelve Apostles*, but he was corrected by

Baumstark, who rightly recognised the Gamaliel authorship<sup>1</sup> and united the fragments numbered 2, 3, 4, 5, 11, 12, 13 under his name. Now that we have our own complete document to work from, it is easy to see fragment after fragment from Revillout in our text.

The easiest way to put before the reader the fact that our document is substantially the lost or missing Gamaliel book of which Revillout and others have brought forward fragments, will be to take a single one of Revillout's published documents, translated below by Dr. Mingana, for a closer study, and leave the remainder for reference in Dr. Mingana's foot-notes at the places where they naturally occur.

Suppose, then, we take the thirteenth fragment (of which Dr. James has given an account on p. 151 of his *Apocryphal New Testament*) We premise that this fragment, as was pointed out above, is definitely assigned to Gamaliel. It contains an incident in the story of the Centurion who, in the Gospel, has the oversight of the crucifixion of Jesus, and was so overwhelmed by what he saw and heard at that time as to break out into an ejaculation of supreme faith and wonder. It was natural enough, and might indeed have been predicted, that legend should accumulate round the person of this Centurion. It does so in a manner that has some parallel with that of Procula. First of all he must have a name, and then a new religion. This is found by identifying him with the soldier in the Fourth Gospel, who pierced the side of Jesus, after death, to assure himself of the same, with a spear. The Greek word for spear being λόγχη (Lonchē), it was easy to christen him Longinus; that preserved his Latin soldiery and his Greek armature. The next thing was to christen him in a more exact sense by making him a primitive confessor and believer in Jesus, and this was almost ready to hand in the Gospel itself. It only remains, to use Dr. James' way of describing the manner of production of these Coptic documents, to put the frill on the frock. That brings us to the thirteenth fragment of Revillout. It was written on a double leaf, with an evident discontinuity between them, of which the natural explanation is that another double leaf or more stood between the folded portions of the fragment. Let us see what can be done by way of divination as to the missing pages and their contents, before Dr. Mingana comes to our aid with his Garshūni text.

<sup>1</sup> *Revue Biblique Internationale*, 1906, p. 245.



Dr. James puts the case thus :—

“It is a narrative connected with the resurrection. We find Pilate examining four soldiers as to their statement that the body of Jesus was stolen. (This is the account in Matthew.) One (the second ; the testimony of the first is gone) says the eleven apostles took the body ; the third says Joseph and Nicodemus ; the fourth, ‘we were asleep.’ They are imprisoned, and Pilate goes with the Centurion and the priests to the tomb and finds the grave-clothes. He says, ‘If the body had been stolen, these would have been taken too.’ They say, ‘These grave-clothes belong to some one else.’ Pilate remembers the words of Jesus, ‘Great wonders must happen in my tomb,’ and goes in and weeps over the shroud. Then he turns to the Centurion, who had but one eye, having lost the other in battle.”

The exact terms of the fragment at this point are as follows, according to Revillout’s translation :—

“Il fixa son attention sur le centurion qui se tenait debout à la porte du tombeau et vit qu’il n’avait qu’un seul oeil (car on avait crevé l’autre dans le combat) et qu’il la cachait de sa main, tout le temps, pour ne pas voir la lumière.”

Then comes the gap, of which Dr. James not unnaturally says that in the gap no doubt stood the statement that the Centurion’s eye was healed by contact with the grave-clothes of the Redeemer. Now let us turn to our document. We first restore the evidence of soldier No. 1 :

“Pilate said to him, ‘Tell me the truth : who carried away the body of Jesus ?’ and he answered, ‘Peter and John.’”

Then we look at the visit of Pilate to the tomb :

“Pilate took the wrappings, that is the pieces of linen with which Jesus was shrouded, wept over them and embraced them with joy. *Then he looked at the Centurion who was standing at the entrance to the tomb, and who was with one eye only, as his other eye had been put out in a war,* and a considerable time had elapsed without his having seen anything with it. Pilate then conceived the idea, through the greatness of his faith, that these wrappings will give light to the Centurion’s eye, etc.”

In this way Dr. James’ conjecture was justified. The motive for the miracle lies further back. Miracles were to be expected, says Pilate, at the tomb of Jesus : one of them was that the blind should



there receive their sight. Hence the one-eyed Longinus and his recovery.

The simple incident which we have been studying will enable the reader to see how our new document helps us to unify and arrange the Coptic fragments which had been collected by Revillout and others.

It is interesting to notice that from another quarter, the literature of the Ethiopic church, another fragment of the Gamaliel book has come to light. This may have also come from a Coptic source, or perhaps from the Arabic. Dr. James quotes it from the *Newbery House Magazine* for 1892, p. 641. In this fragment the "Jews explain to Pilate that the sweet odour of the sepulchre is due to the spices put on the body by Joseph, and to the flowers in the garden. . . . After a gap is a prayer of Pilate's in which he asks pardon for having put 'another body in the place where they put Thy body.'"

The reader will easily find out what is the reason of the gap, and how the body of the penitent thief came to be put into the sepulchre of Jesus in place of His own. It is quite one of the most interesting episodes in our narration, one of the prettiest frills upon the somewhat torn robe of the Gospels. That there may be some early elements in these traditions should be conceded; but the actual historical gain is an almost irreducible minimum, for it stands already near zero.

All who read these accounts will admire the skill with which Dr. Mingana has reduced to shape for us these difficult documents. We doubt if anyone else would even have attempted the task.

RENDEL HARRIS.

## PREFACES, EDITIONS, AND TRANSLATIONS.

BY A. MINGANA.

### *I. The Lament of the Virgin.*

#### PREFATORY NOTE.

**I** GIVE in the following pages the text and the translation (accompanied by a critical apparatus) of a new document dealing with the resurrection of our Lord and the lamentations of His mother over His body on the occasion of His crucifixion. The immediate author of the document is said to be Cyriacus, bishop of Oxyrhynchus, but the real although naturally apocryphal author of all the historical events that it contains is Gamaliel, who often speaks in it in the first person. It seems to constitute another link in the apocryphal chain of the *Acta Pilati* or the *Gospel of Nicodemus*. It has also the advantage of supplying the deficiencies of the Coptic fragments published by Revillout under the general but possibly inaccurate title of *Evangile des douze Apôtres*.<sup>1</sup> In some respect it may also be brought within the circle of the documents edited by Lacau in his *Fragments d'Apocryphes Coptes*,<sup>2</sup> and of the *Coptic Gospel of Bartholomew* first translated by Crum<sup>3</sup> and then edited and translated by Budge.<sup>4</sup>

I have edited the work from two MSS. of my own collection numbered Mingana Syr. 87 and Mingana Syr. 127 (henceforth M. 87 and M. 127). M. 87 has no date, but on palæographic ground may be ascribed to about A.D. 1450, and M. 127 is dated 1994 of the Greeks (A.D. 1683). I was unable to find a third MS. containing the document in the catalogues of the public libraries of Europe.

<sup>1</sup> *Pat. Orient.* ii. 123-183. See about this title Baumstark in *Revue Biblique*, 1906, p. 245. He rightly refers the story to a Gamaliel apocryphon. The present documents bear out his opinion.

<sup>2</sup> *Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire*, 1904.

<sup>3</sup> *Light of Egypt*, 1910.

<sup>4</sup> *Coptic Apocrypha in the dialect of Upper Egypt*, 1913.

There are sufficient variants in the two MSS. to justify us in holding that they are independent of each other, but we should be infringing the rules of philology and textual criticism were we to assert that they represent two distinct recensions of the same story. The story is undoubtedly one and the variant readings exhibited by the MSS. are to a greater or lesser degree similar to those exhibited by more than half of all the existing Oriental MSS.

I placed the text of M. 87 in the body of the page and relegated to the foot-notes the variants of M. 127. As the number of these variants is not very considerable, I have not found it cumbersome to register almost all of them with the exception of those which are exclusively of the domain of orthography. I have likewise referred in the translation to all the important discrepancies of the two MSS.

I have edited the text in Garshūni (Arabic in Syriac characters) as it is found in the MSS., and in order not to swell the foot-notes without appreciable advantage I have neglected to correct the numerous grammatical mistakes committed by the author. These are more or less similar to those to which I often drew the attention of the reader in the notes found in the first volume of my *Woodbrooke Studies*.

To show the close relationship that exists between our new document and the mutilated Coptic fragments published by E. Revillout in the *Pat. Orient.* (ii. 169-174), I shall give here a complete translation of the latter. It will be seen at a glance that our new document is derived from Coptic sources, and that in the case of fragment 15 it is a direct translation from such Coptic texts as the following. I indicate the lacunæ in the fragments by three dots.

#### FRAGMENT 14.

" . . . The mothers who in these countries have seen the death of their children, when they go to their tomb in order to see the body of those over whom they weep, great consolation and great . . . result for them. As to me I came out to see it . . . with all these . . . hanging on the cross like a robber . . . Lo . . .

" . . . She opened her eyes, as they were closed in order not to look towards the earth because of its scandals. And she said to Him with joy : ' O Master, my Lord, my God, my Son, you have risen,



you have truly risen.' But He restrained her and implored her, saying: 'O my mother, do not touch me. Wait for a while, because it is the garment which my Father gave me when He raised me up. It is impossible that anything carnal should touch me until I go to heaven.'

"This body, however, is the one in which I spent nine months in your womb. . . . Know these things, O my mother. This flesh is the one which I received in you. It is the one which rested in my tomb, and it is also the one which rose to-day and which stands now before you. Examine well my hands and my feet, O Mary, my mother, and know that it is me whom you have nourished. Do not doubt, O my mother, that I am your Son. It is I who delivered you into the hands of John at the time when I was hanging on the cross.

"Now, O my mother, go in haste and tell my brethren and say to them . . . according to His words which I uttered to you, go to Galilee where you will find me. Hasten because it is not possible for me not to go to heaven to my Father.

"Those who have suffered with me on the earth . . . (The rest is missing.)

#### FRAGMENT 15.

" . . . And (Pilate) called the second (soldier) and said to him: 'I know that you are more truthful than all these. Tell me (how many Apostles) took the body of Jesus in the tomb? And he answered: "Eleven of them came with their disciples, and took it by stealth, and separated themselves only from this one" (*i.e.* Judas?).

"And he summoned the third and said to him: 'I esteem your witness more than that of the rest. Who took the body of Jesus in the tomb?' And he replied to him: 'Joseph and Nicodemus and their parents' (*sic*).

"And he summoned the fourth and said to him: 'You are the most important one among them, and I let them go all of them. Tell me now (what happened) when they took from your hands the body of Jesus in the tomb?' And he replied to him: 'O my lord, we were asleep. We had forgotten ourselves and we were not able to know who took it. Then we rose up and looked for it but did not find it. . . . We have apprised . . .'

" . . . Pilate said to the Jews and to the centurion: 'These people are lying in this way and their words are contradictory.' And

he gave orders to secure soldiers until he had gone to the tomb. At that moment he rose up with the heads of the Jews, the Sanhedrin, and the high priests. They found the wrappings placed on the ground without body there.

"And Pilate said, 'O men who hate their own souls, if they had taken the body they would have also taken the wrappings.' And they said to him : 'Do you not see that they are not his but that they belong to some others ?' Pilate remembered then the words of Jesus : 'It is imperative that great miracles should take place in my tomb.' Pilate hastened then to enter into the tomb. He seized the wrappings of Jesus, which he pressed against his breast and over which he wept. He kissed them with joy as if Jesus were wrapt in them. Then he looked at the centurion who was standing at the door of the tomb and noticed that he had one eye only—because they had put out the other in a war—which he hid with his hand all the time in order not to see the light.

"Then Pilate . . .

" . . . The flame of his wrath has come on you. And they acquiesced in this condemnation, saying : 'may His blood and His death be on us for ever !'

"And Pilate said to the centurion : 'O my brother, do not exchange in vain the true life which you have received for the lie and the quiet (*sic*) of the Jews.' This is what he said in the presence of the Jews. . . .

" . . . Pilate and the centurion went to the well of water of the garden, which was very deep. And I Gamaliel followed them in the crowd. They looked in the well and the Jews cried : 'O Pilate . . . Is this not the body of Jesus who died ?' And (Joseph and Nicodemus) said : 'O our Lord, the wrappings which you hold are those of Jesus. As to this body it belongs to the robber who was crucified with Jesus . . . Joseph and Nicodemus placed the wrappings . . .

" . . . And Pilate remembered what Jesus had said : 'The dead shall rise in my tomb.' And thereupon he summoned the heads of the Jews and said to them : 'Do you believe that this is the Nazarene ?' And they answered : 'We believe.' And he said : 'It is right then to place His body in His tomb, as it is done to all the dead . . .'

There is no doubt whatever that the present Garshūni document

which I am editing and translating is a translation, or at least a very close imitation, of a Coptic document of which fragments only have come down to us. That Egypt is also responsible for many other statements of the author will be made abundantly clear in the foot-notes that I have ventured to add to the narrative.

In my opinion the present document has nothing in common with Syriac literature or with the Syrian and Palestinian Church in general. It has been preserved to us by West Syrian copyists living either in Egypt or in Palestine, and this constitutes the only link that connects it with the great Syrian Church. This remark applies with equal right to the two works: *A Jeremiah Apocryphon* and *A New Life of John the Baptist* which I edited and translated in the first volume of my *Woodbrooke Studies* and to the *Martyrdom of Pilate* which I have also edited and translated below.

I give to the work the provisional title of *The Lament of the Virgin*.

#### TRANSLATION.

In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, we will write a discourse composed by Cyriacus,<sup>1</sup> bishop of the town of Bahnasa,<sup>2</sup> on the merits of the pure Virgin our Lady<sup>3</sup> Mary, and her affectionate weeping on the day of the crucifixion of our Lord, when on the day of His holy resurrection she went to the door of the sepulchre of her Son and did not find His body, because He had risen up from the dead. May his<sup>4</sup> blessing be with us. Amen.

He said :

The weeping of Jacob, the head of the Patriarchs, has been

<sup>1</sup> This Cyriacus is to be identified with "Cyriacus, bishop of Bahnasa" who has two Arabic discourses on the history of the flight of Christ to Egypt. They are found in Paris Arab. 155 (pp. 160-188) and analysed in *R.O.C.*, xv. 157-161. He lived in the beginning of the 15th century.

<sup>2</sup> Formerly a rather important town near the Lybian desert, and in our days an insignificant village. In old Egyptian it is called Permezet, in Coptic Penje and in Greek Πέμπτη. It is better known to us by another Greek name *Oxyrhynchus*. It was a bishopric, and constituted one of the chief centres of Christian Egypt; it has been said that at one time it contained as many as 360 churches. Although much exaggerated the number testifies to the importance of the place as a Christian centre.

<sup>3</sup> The Syr. *Mart.* See my note in *Woodbrooke Studies*, vol. i., p. 243.

<sup>4</sup> Bishop Cyriacus. M. 127 has: "his prayer."



renewed to-day, O my beloved ; why then should not the Virgin Mary weep over her Son whom she conceived in virginity ? Why should not the Virgin Mary weep over the one for whom she suffered the pangs of parturition ?<sup>1</sup> Why should not the Virgin Mary weep over the one into whose divine mouth she placed her virginal breast ? Why should not the Virgin weep over the manger, which is in Bethlehem ? Why should not the Virgin weep over her beloved Son whom she carried during nine months of gestation ? Why should not the Virgin weep over the one whom she brought forth and suckled ?

If Rachel weeps over children whom she has never embraced, why should not the Virgin weep over the one whom she carried in her arms like all babes ?<sup>2</sup> If Rachel weeps over children for whom she did not run from place to place, why should not the Virgin weep over her child with whom she ran from country to country ? If Rachel weeps over children whose tombs she has not seen, why should not the Virgin weep at the door of her only Son's sepulchre ?

The weeping of a venerable old man<sup>3</sup> has been renewed to-day for a young,<sup>4</sup> virgin woman. Jacob did not see Joseph bound by his brothers, but the Virgin saw her Son nailed to the wood of the cross. Jacob did not see Joseph when his brothers threw him while hungry into the depths of the well, so that he might weep over him ; but the Virgin saw her Son hanging on the cross in the middle (of two malefactors), before all the Jews. Jacob did not see Joseph when his brothers stripped him of his clothes, but the Virgin saw her Son in a naked state in the middle of Jews devoid of understanding. Jacob did not see Joseph being sold to Egyptian merchants for thirty *denarii*, but the Virgin saw her Son when Judas sold Him for thirty pieces of silver. Jacob wept over a foreign blood and over a robe that was not torn by wild beasts, but it is over a divine blood smeared on the rock of the *Kranion*<sup>5</sup> that the Virgin is weeping, and over the foreign robe<sup>6</sup> which her Son was wearing, since they had divided His garments among themselves. The brothers of Joseph wept and

<sup>1</sup> Evidently the author does not believe in the painless birth of Christ.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. "like all men."

<sup>3</sup> The Patriarch Jacob mentioned at the beginning.

<sup>4</sup> Read *Shābbatin*.

<sup>5</sup> The author uses the Greek word *κρανίον* (*al-akrānion*).

<sup>6</sup> Which foreign robe ?

repented that they had sold their brother, but the Children of Israel did not weep when they sold their Lord.<sup>1</sup> The sons of Jacob rejoiced when their brother reigned (over Egypt), but the Jews did not rejoice when their Lord rose up from the dead.

O pure Virgin, your wailing over the tomb of your beloved Son is truly sweet and your voice is melodious in the middle of the angels, when they brought to you the sad news and said : " O Mary, what are you doing sitting, while your Son is standing before the Governor and is being judged and insulted by the High Priest of the Jews ? " O Mary, what are you doing sitting, while your Son is being stripped in the court of His garment dyed (with His blood) ? O daughter of Joiakim, what are you doing sitting, while your Son is carrying alone a cross in the streets of Jerusalem, and no one comes near Him ? O dove of Hannah what are you doing sitting, while your Son is being crucified in the place of the *Kranion* ? O seed of David, why have they lifted your Son on the cross ?

O my pure and Virgin Lady, your wailing is truly sweet to-day in the house of John, while saying :<sup>2</sup> " Oh, how bitter is this messenger who came to me to-day ! He is more bitter than the messenger of death who came to Job and to Jacob—Israel. Oh, how cruel is the intelligencer who came to me to-day, O my Child ! He is more cruel than the one who announced to Lot the burning of his town. Oh, how painful is the news that came to me to-day, O my child ! It is more painful than the news concerning the death of the valiant men of Israel. Oh, how cruel is the messenger who brought me this bad news, O my child ! (This child) has comforted me for thirty years, and He never furnished me with an occasion to chide Him and scold Him. (What adds bitterness) to the news is that the one who brought it to me is Salome ! All my sorrow has began again !

" O my child, I have never been to a Governor, nor have I ever stood before a judge. I have never seen a robber being killed, nor have I ever gone to the *Kranion*, nor do I know the place of the Golgotha. O my child, I have never stood before a man engaged in litigation so that I might realise the false wisdom (that has been applied to your case) ; nor have I ever been present in a law court, so that I

<sup>1</sup> This sentence is missing in M. 127.

<sup>2</sup> M. 127 : " while sitting."



might realise the injustice that has been done to you. O my child, I am inside the house of John, and you are in the house of the High-Priest Annas. O my child, this cruel news that concerns you has outweighed the sadness of my orphanhood, and the painful information relating to you has to-day<sup>1</sup> deprived me of my joy. The angel announced to me your birth in Nazareth, and I have been announced this cruel news about you in Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup> Your Annunciation occurred to me in the house of Joseph, and this bad news was brought to me in the house of John. O my beloved, I was rejoicing in my heart and saying constantly, 'To-morrow we shall have our passover, accomplish the ordinance of the feast and return to our home;' the passover has come to me, O my beloved Son, with weeping and wailing! My feast has changed into lamentation and my passover into grief!"

The Virgin uttered this affectionate wailing<sup>3</sup> in the house of John when they brought to her the sad news of her Son. Then she began to look for one of His holy disciples to walk with her, but she did not find any, because all had fled and forsaken Him from fear of the Jews. She asked for Peter to accompany her, and she was informed that from his fear of the High Priest he had denied her Son, saying, "I do not know Him," and that he had gone and hidden himself from Him. She asked for James, the brother of the Lord, and she was informed that he had fled and left Him on the mount where He was seized. She asked for Andrew, and she was informed that he had never come with Him to town at all. She asked for Thomas, and she was informed that he had thrown down his garments and fled. She asked for the son of Tulmas,<sup>4</sup> and she was informed that he was the first of His brethren to flee. She asked for Philip, and she was informed that when he saw the torches burning, he was terrified and fled. She asked for James, the brother of John, and she was informed that he never even looked at Him. She asked for Matthew, and she was informed that he was afraid of the Jews<sup>5</sup> more than all others, as they had a special grudge against him from the time he used to collect taxes from

<sup>1</sup> M. 87 omits "to-day."

<sup>2</sup> See on this word my note in *Woodbrooke Studies*, vol. i., p. 153.

<sup>3</sup> M. 127 omits "affectionate wailing."

<sup>4</sup> *I.e.* Bartholomew. The author is dividing the word into two and translating the Aramaeo-Syriac *bar* by "son of."

<sup>5</sup> M. 87 adds: "and of the High Priests."



them, and he had, therefore, fled in the darkness of the night. In short she asked for all of them, and she did not find a single one of them except John who had accompanied Him to the *Kranion* and the Golgotha.

Then the Virgin resumed her weeping and wailing, because she was not able to find any of the Apostles, the disciples of her Son, except John, and said while weeping :

“Woe is me, O my Son and O my beloved, because your brethren fled and disappeared. O my father Peter, I was thinking every day that you would not deny your Master. You have not been given gold and silver that you denied Him so quickly. You have not been presented with a boat and oars, why then did you deny to-day your Master and your Lord? You have not had the gift of a son or a daughter (as the price of your denial), O Peter, and you have not had the offer of exchanging Him for a brother or a friend, why then this spiritless weakness of yours? You did not see a second cross, O Peter, which you believed might be for you, that you were so terrified that you denied Him. He gave you a tongue of iron, O Peter, and you melted it and spoiled it without fire or a smith. He bestowed grace upon you,<sup>1</sup> O Peter, more than all men, and you did not bear now a single slap for your Master. He bestowed on you, O Peter, two eyes the light of which does not fade, and you did not feel ashamed to deny their light.<sup>2</sup> He confided to you, O Peter, the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and you did not suffer a short time (for Him) in the prison of the High Priest.

“He made you, O Peter, His deputy to all the world, and you did not endure a single temptation<sup>3</sup> for your Master. He made you, O Peter, a father to all the world, and you did not act in a brotherly love for a single short hour towards my Son. He imposed His divine hand on your head,<sup>4</sup> O Peter, and you did not agree<sup>5</sup> to have a crown of thorns on your head before you had denied Him. Even if you say,

<sup>1</sup> Lit. “he gave grace to your face” which is in harmony with the “slap” that follows.

<sup>2</sup> The word should be in the dual form.

<sup>3</sup> M. 87: “temptation for a short time.”

<sup>4</sup> In the *Book of the Resurrection of Christ by the Apostle Bartholomew* (in James' *Apocryphal N.T.*, p. 184) it is said that the Father, with the Son and the Holy Ghost, laid His hand on the head of Peter.

<sup>5</sup> A colloquial word is used here.

O Peter, that my Son is not your Master but only your friend, it did not behove you to deny Him in this way. If you had to endure, O Peter, all the tribulations undergone with us by my father<sup>1</sup> Joseph, you should have been dragged to Herod with my Son.<sup>2</sup> If you had to bear like him the pains of the journey to the country of Egypt, you might not have been able to endure a single one of them. May the dew of heaven nurture your bones, O my father Joseph, the just man, and may the tree of life nourish<sup>3</sup> your soul because you have endured my tribulations with me, and have not denied my Son! O Peter, they have not brought you before the Governor, nor have they placed you before the high tribunal that you denied your Master so quickly."

When the Virgin finished her lamentations over the denial of Peter in the house of John, she sent for John, who came and found her weeping. Then both John and the Virgin wept over the Lord Jesus. Then John said to the Virgin: "O my mother, do not weep over Peter for his denial of my Master, because he has not the same blame attached to him as that which attaches to Judas who betrayed Him. I heard what my Master said at the evening meal and what Peter said to Him, 'Be it far from you, Lord, this shall not be unto you,'<sup>4</sup> but I will give my life for you. And I heard my Lord and my Master rebuking him three times saying to him, 'Go ye behind me, Satan, you have become an offence to me, for you think not of the things that be of God, but of those things that be of men.'<sup>5</sup> Now, O my Lady and my mother, do not weep over my father Peter, because his denial will be (the symbol of) repentance to sinners, as he gave the lie to his own words and corroborated the words of his Master."

Then the Virgin gave herself to bitter weeping because she had not seen her Son, and she reverted again to her painful lamentations in the house of John and said: "I adjure you, O John, to show me the way to the *Kranion*. I adjure you, O John, to accompany me to the Golgotha. I have never seen yet a robber being crucified, nor

<sup>1</sup> "Father" denotes here in the Eastern parlance, "a dear old man."

<sup>2</sup> Lit. "with Him."

<sup>3</sup> Read *tukit*.

<sup>4</sup> Matt. xvi. 22. The sentence was of course not uttered at the last meal.

<sup>5</sup> Matt. xvi. 23. Christ rebuked Peter only once and not three times as stated in the text.



have I stood near a robber when he was being beheaded.<sup>1</sup> I shall forsake my town and my great freedom, and shall go bare-footed to the place in which my beloved Son has been crucified like common robbers, because He is alone and not one of His brethren is standing near Him, and there is not here with you any of your friends who would say anything about you. O my child, the sorrow of a mother for her beloved son is something, and the sorrow of a friend for his friend is another thing; the pain of the heart of a mother weeping over her beloved son is something, and the weeping of a friend over his friend is another thing. My sorrow, O my child, is to-day greater than that of all the world, and of all the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and my weeping is more bitter than that of all who shall gather<sup>2</sup> near me."

When John noticed that she was not able to cease her weeping and wailing and that he on his part was unable to comfort her, because she was saying: "If I do not see Him I cannot be comforted," he said to her: "Get up, and I will accompany you to the *Kranion*, so that you may see Him." The Virgin, therefore, went out of the house of John and walked in the streets of Jerusalem. People who saw the Virgin walking said to one another: "From where is this wailing woman?" And the people of the bazaars said: "We have never seen this woman buying anything from this bazaar." Some others said "This is a foreign woman and she walks in this street as if she did not know it." The people, however, who recognised in John the disciple of the Lord Jesus, said: "This may perhaps be His mother going to see Him on the cross." Some people said: "This is the wife of Joseph," and some others said: "The news of His conception was brought to her." Finally, some people said: "Look at her, how<sup>3</sup> beautiful is her face and her weeping," and yet some others said: "We have not seen another one in this town like her, and her face resembles that of her Son." In short, every one in the market was saying something about her and how noticeable was her appearance in the streets of the town. And Salome was walking behind her, while some other women covered her with her veil, but she was not observing anything but only listening to the sorrow of her heart.

<sup>1</sup>The text uses here *rā's* "head" in feminine under the influence of *κεφαλή*. See my note in *Woodbrooke Studies*, vol. i., p. 249.

<sup>2</sup>Codd. "who are gathered."

<sup>3</sup>Read *ma*.



When she reached the Golgotha, she noticed a great throng of people in groups of different tribes and clans looking at (her Son) on the Cross. People of various nationalities,<sup>1</sup> from all districts had assembled in Jerusalem in that holy month for the immolation of the lamb: Amgazites,<sup>2</sup> Balakites,<sup>3</sup> Moabites, Kabarites,<sup>4</sup> and Ishmaelites. All these were pressing in groups against one another for the great and wonderful sight. Some people were saying: "They condemned this one to-day with injustice," and some others were saying: "They have emptied their wrath on Him." Some were saying: "They were seeking the death of this one for many years," and some others were saying: "They have killed a brave man to-day." Some were saying: "If there was justice in this town, they would never have been able to kill this one," and yet some others were saying: "This is the one for whom the Emperor sent in order to make Him a King over all Judæa,<sup>5</sup> and that is why Herod ordered His death." Some people cursed Herod because of Him, saying: "The one who took his brother's wife while he was still alive and rendered him a poor and a wretched man, has also killed this one without pity."

As to the Virgin she inclined her face towards the earth on account of her weeping and humility, and she was not able to see her Son quickly because of her painful weeping and the thronging of the great multitudes of people. She said, therefore, to John: "Where is my beloved Son so that I may see Him; the pressing of these numerous

<sup>1</sup> Lit. "many languages." The construction of the sentence with the word *lughat* is here strange and denotes a Greek or a Coptic original.

<sup>2</sup> M. 127: *Magazites*. I cannot identify this people without textual emendations. Can it be a copyist's error for *Amorites*? The graphic difference between *Amgazites* and *Amorites* is rather slight in ancient and undotted Arabic characters from which the present Garshūni document appears to me to be derived.

<sup>3</sup> Are they descendants of Balak, King of Moab of Num. xxii.-xxiv. etc.? The Moabites come immediately after as a separate people. The author does not seem to be versed in Jewish history.

<sup>4</sup> I cannot identify this people without textual emendations.

<sup>5</sup> In the Coptic fragments edited by Revillout (Nos. 2 and 4) in *Pat. Orient.* ii., p. 132 sqq., it is said that the Emperor Tiberius ordered twice that Jesus should be made King. The first occasion was when Carius sent the Apostle John to report to him about Jesus, and the second time was when Jesus was speaking to the Apostles on the mountain. See also Robinson's *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels*, p. 176, and James' *Apocryphal N.T.*, p. 148. Cf. John vi. 15.

people against one another does not allow me to see Him." And John said to her: "Lift your head towards the western side of these people, and you will see Him extended on the cross." And the Virgin looked towards all those multitudes of people, and she saw Him. She did not cease to wade with John through the multitudes until she came and stood at His right, and looked at Him in His sufferings.

When God saw His mother He looked towards John and said to him: "O man, this is your mother," and then He said to His mother: "O mother, this is your son."<sup>1</sup> And John held the Virgin's hand in order to take her to his house, but the Virgin, his mother, said: "O John, let me weep<sup>2</sup> over Him, as He has no brother and no sister, and do not deprive me of Him. O my Son, would that I had with you a crown of thorns on my head, and would that I could make it as painful as yours. If the penalty of all the robbers is crucifixion, why have they not stripped you of your garments, O Judas, since you are a thief and stole from the bag?<sup>3</sup> O John, look at my wretchedness to-day in the middle of these multitudes. Look at my lowliness and at the pains of my heart. Let me look at His face to my satisfaction. Let me look at His sufferings to my satisfaction, as I have never seen Him in such a state before, except to-day. Let me weep over Him, because my sufferings are to-day greater than His sufferings. The lying-place of all the paupers is the dung-heap, let me then look at Him to my satisfaction, because I am an orphan without father, without mother, and without relatives."<sup>4</sup>

This is the wailing indulged in by the Virgin while she was at the right side of her Son. She was in a state of confusion owing to the intensity of her pain, and because of the greatness of her sorrow she did not notice the great multitudes that were present. She was only bent on weeping. Now there were present there Joanna,<sup>5</sup> wife of Chuza, Mary Magdalene and Salome, and these got hold of the Lady (Mary) and lifted her up. Her wailing was truly sweet while

<sup>1</sup> John xix. 26-27.

<sup>2</sup> M. 87: "Leave His mother alone, O John, and let her weep."

<sup>3</sup> John xii. 6.

<sup>4</sup> M. 87: "without a man."

<sup>5</sup> The author writes this name of Luke viii. 3, and xxiv. 10, as *Yona* or *Yawanna* which is more the Greek *Iwanna* than the Syriac *Yohan*. John xix. 25 and Matt. xxvii. 56, do not mention this Joanna as standing near the cross. From where did the author derive this information?



she was surrounded by pure women, who were weeping with her because of the sweetness of her words. Other Jewish women who heard her weeping scoffed at her saying : "Our vengeance has come to-day on you and on your Son, because it is through you that our wombs have become childless from the year in which you brought Him forth."<sup>1</sup>

The heads of the Jews spoke then with the soldiers of Herod and hardened their hearts to kill (Jesus). They had informed Herod that Pilate with a great number of people loved Jesus, and they had added : "We fear that in going to crucify Him, those people might raise against us and snatch Him from our hands on the advice of Pilate. Give us, therefore, order and power to crucify Him."<sup>2</sup> And they had given him much money, and he had given them the power required and sent his soldiers to them. This is the reason why Pilate did not go out with him that day ; he feared an armed conflict between him and the Jews. Indeed Pilate and his wife loved (Jesus) like their own soul, and the flogging that he had ordered for Him was done in order to satisfy the wicked Jews, and so to save Him from death. Had he known that they would crucify Him, if he were to die with his wife and his sons, he would not have laid hands on Him at all. The Jews had lied to Pilate saying : "If you only chastise this rebel for us, and if he ceases to heal people on the Sabbath day, we will release Him." It is under this false pretext that Pilate had ordered Him<sup>3</sup> to be flagellated.

The above conspiracy took place before the Virgin stood at the right side of Her Son and John wished to take her to his house. She then rose weeping and lamenting and returned to town, saying : "I leave you in peace,<sup>4</sup> O my child, you and the cross upon which you have been lifted up. I salute<sup>5</sup> your face full of grace, which they have insulted and at which they have railed. I salute your nudity, O King, who is in the middle of robbers. I salute your royal garment,

<sup>1</sup> From where did the author get this information?

<sup>2</sup> That it was Herod and not Pilate who killed the Christ is also the belief of the Ethiopic Church : "He (Paul) is a disciple of Jesus Christ whom Herod the son of Archelaus slew in the days of Pontius Pilate." Budge's *The Contendings of the Apostles*, ii., 556.

<sup>3</sup> The Arabic sentence is wrongly constructed as if Pilate himself had flogged Jesus.

<sup>4</sup> *I.e.*, farewell.

<sup>5</sup> Lit. I ask.



O my child, which is in the hands of your enemies. I salute you, O my beloved, with the crown of thorns which is overshadowing you."

The Virgin was saying all this while she was being taken weeping to the house of John. There she did not cease to weep, nor did she give slumber to her eyelids,<sup>1</sup> but she kept weeping and wailing. After (John) had placed her in the house he did not neglect to go to the *Kranion* and witness till the end all the sufferings of his Master. When the body<sup>2</sup> had ceased to function, He gave up the ghost. Then all the town shook from the great earthquake that occurred in the earth and the signs that took place in heaven. When the Virgin noticed that the earth quaked and that darkness spread over all the town, she said: "This is a sign that my Son has died." While she was saying this, lo, John came weeping. And the Virgin said to him: "Is it not true that my Son died<sup>3</sup> on the cross?" And he inclined his head and said, "Yes, He died."

How great were the weeping and the lamentations of the Virgin at that hour!<sup>4</sup> With intense pains of the heart she wept and said: "Woe is me, O my child, because of this dreadful death which you have incurred. I did not find a Governor to inquire into the injustice done to me, nor a judge to gauge the pains of my heart. O Governor, if you had judged with justice according to the law, the Son of the King would not have been killed while hungry and thirsty. O High Priest, if you had judged with justice, Judas would have been worthy of crucifixion<sup>5</sup> instead of my Son. If you had pondered over your decision, O Governor, you would not have crucified my Son in His nudity.<sup>6</sup> If you had judged with equity, O High Priest, you would not have released a robber from death, and killed the Prince. If you had judged with equity, O Governor, you would not have killed a valiant man while war<sup>7</sup> is looking you in the face. If you had judged with equity, O High Priest, you would not have uttered insulting words to your Master.

<sup>1</sup> Ps. cxxxii. 4.

<sup>2</sup> M. 87: "the soul."

<sup>3</sup> M. 127: "Did my Son die?"

<sup>4</sup> In cap. x. of the Recension B of the Greek text of the *Acts of Pilate* long quotations are also given from the lamentations of the Virgin when she was informed by John of the crucifixion of Jesus. Cf. James *Apocryphal N.T.*, p. 116.

<sup>5</sup> M. 127, "death."

<sup>6</sup> M. 127, omits "in His nudity."

<sup>7</sup> Which war?

"I hear that at a time when people are at war, if it happens that they capture the son of the King, they take great care of him and do not kill him, but send him to his father as an honour, why then, O High Priest, when you asked (my Son) the truth and He told it to you, you hated Him ?<sup>1</sup> You preferred a lie and put your trust on it. You asked for truth, do you not know then that the one who is standing before you is truthful, nay truth and life ?"<sup>2</sup>

Truly, O Virgin, O holy Mary, you have met with injustice in the town of Jerusalem more than many of your generation, because they attacked the great one who was in it, and delivered Him to the judgment of death.

After all this, the Christ was still hanging on the cross, and many confessed saying : "This man who performed all these deeds is the Son of God."<sup>3</sup> All the people who believed wept while He was on the cross. Then Pilate summoned the centurion who was sent by Herod in order to crucify (Jesus), and he ushered him into his house and said to him : "Have you seen, O my brother, what the Jews and Herod did to this just Man, and how they killed Him with such an injustice that all this happened on the earth ? I tell you, O my brother, that all this evil is not by my will but on the advice of Herod. I wished to release Him and save Him from death, but when I noticed that this was against the wish of Herod, I delivered Him to the Jews for crucifixion. See now, what ransom shall we give to God for His Son whom we have killed ?" Then the centurion together with the owner of the spear and Pilate began to weep bitterly saying : "May His blood be on Herod and on the High Priest !"

Then Pilate summoned the High Priests Annas and Caiaphas before the public and said to them : "O haters of bodies<sup>4</sup> and drinkers of blood unjustly shed, see now what happened as a consequence of the death of Jesus of Nazareth on the cross. May His blood be on you and on your children !" And they struck at their chests and at their faces saying : "May the blood of this erring man be on us and on our children<sup>5</sup> for a thousand generations !" And

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Matt. xxvi. 63-64.

<sup>2</sup> John xiv. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Matt. xxvii. 54.

<sup>4</sup> M. 87, "O people with long robes on their bodies." About all the incidents in the present story see the Coptic fragments which I translated in the *Prefatory Note*.

<sup>5</sup> Matt. xxvii. 25.



Pilate said, "What ! even now after all the signs that He showed in heaven and earth, you are not awestruck and amazed like all the people ?" And they said : "We are not afraid because we have fulfilled the law."

And Pilate said : "O High Priest, if you have fulfilled the law, why are your clothes rent ? The law says that if a High Priest rends his clothes, he falls from office." And he answered : "I rent my clothes<sup>1</sup> because He blasphemed against the Most High God and against the law." And Pilate said to him : "I order you not to enter the temple<sup>2</sup> another time like a High Priest but like a rebel. And if anyone tells me that you have gone to the temple I will cut off your head." And the High Priest said to him : "Which Governor among your predecessors has in the preceding time interdicted a High Priest, and has enjoyed a long term of office ?"<sup>3</sup> He said this because he was under the jurisdiction of Herod.

And Pilate said to him : "Are not then the signs that have so far occurred sufficient for you, as they are for all the people ?" And the High Priest said to Pilate : "You are a young shoot in this town, and you do not know the meaning and the portent of these signs. This month is Barmudah<sup>4</sup> and in it the revolution of the sun and the moon takes place. At this time the sorcerers give to the moon the colour of blood and detract the ray of the sun by their spells. They do it in order to exact work from the husbandman<sup>5</sup> and to prognosticate concerning the fruits, the crops, the wines and the oils." This is what the High Priest lied and said.

Then Pilate rose from his chair and scourged him with a rough whip ; he plucked also the hair of his beard, and tormented him and said : "You wish to bring the wrath<sup>6</sup> (of God) on the earth on account of your hatred for Jesus." Then the centurion and the soldier said : "You prefer death to life." After having chastised him on the recommendation of Pilate, they sent him to prison on the advice of the centurion, until such time as they would send him to the Emperor.

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xxvi. 65.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. "to the Holy," which may refer to the "holy city" of Jerusalem.

<sup>3</sup> M. 127 has for the last sentence : "that you should interdict me."

<sup>4</sup> Coptic month corresponding with our March to April.

<sup>5</sup> Lit. "They ask for the works of the servants."

<sup>6</sup> M. 127 : "that the wrath should come."



After this Pilate conferred with the centurion and said : "Is His body going to hang on the cross ?" And the centurion said to Pilate : "The power is in your hands, O Governor." And Pilate said to him : "Do you wish that we should take Him down from the cross and confide Him to a reliable man for three days, in order that perchance He may rise as He Himself raised many people from the dead ?" When Pilate uttered these words the heads of the Jews shouted suddenly and said : "It is against the law to deliver a dead man to any one. The grave is the resting-place of the dead."

After this Joseph, who is from Arimathea, came to Pilate and asked permission to take down the body of Jesus Christ from the cross. And Pilate was pleased and he ordered it to be given to him ; and the Jews walked behind him with the guards. Joseph, then, took it down from the cross and buried it in conjunction with Nicodemus. The Jews, however, had an argument with him because they did not wish to bring down His body from the cross, but to leave it on the wood like that of all other robbers, because Jesus had made<sup>1</sup> mention of His resurrection. After they had shrouded Him well in perfume, myrrh, and new linen wrappings, which had not been used for another man at all, they laid Him in a new tomb in which no other body had ever been laid, because it was newly made for Joseph himself, the owner of the garden. They then fastened Him well<sup>2</sup> till the third day.

When the body of Jesus was placed in the sepulchre the Jews went to Pilate and said : "You know that it is the Sabbath ;" and they asked for four witnesses for His tomb, two from the soldiers of Herod, and two from the soldiers of the centurion. They confided the tomb to them and ordered them to guard it till the third day. And the centurion remained in Jerusalem till the third day in order to see the miracle ; and he said : "If Jesus rises from the dead, I shall have no further need of the power of Herod."

After all this John went in haste to the Virgin and said to her : "They have laid my Master in a good new tomb, and have shrouded Him with new wrappings, good perfume, and myrrh of a high quality. And the Virgin enquired : "Who was the one who did this good thing to my beloved Son ?" And he informed her<sup>3</sup> that it was Joseph and Nicodemus, the venerable chiefs.

<sup>1</sup> Lit. "if he had not made."

<sup>2</sup> M. 127 : "Placed guards over Him."

<sup>3</sup> Read *fa' a 'lamaha*.

And the Virgin did not cease her weeping and wailing, and said : " If they have placed my beloved Son under the tree of life, I shall not be comforted unless I see Him. If they have placed the robe of Solomon over the body of my Son, I shall not be comforted unless I see His tomb. If they have poured the perfume of Aaron over the body of my Son, I cannot be comforted unless I see His burial-place. If they have laid my Son in the graves of the prophets, I shall not be comforted unless I see Him. If the grave in which my Son is lying is that of Elisha, I shall not be comforted unless I see Him. If the place in which they have placed my son is Paradise itself, I shall not be comforted unless I see Him. May the dew of Heaven nurture you, O my father Joseph, and may the firmament nourish you,<sup>1</sup> O Nicodemus, for the little good work you did to my Son on the cross !

" Would that I had been weeping under your cross, O my Son ! Even if I could not find your body, O my beloved, I would have grasped your blood, because although Jacob did not find the blood of Joseph, he wept over the blood of another. Woe is me, O my beloved Son, because I have not seen your body and your blood.<sup>2</sup> If I had found your blood, O my Child, I would have purified my garment with it, and if I had found your garment, it would have been as a garment of Joseph<sup>3</sup> to me. The blood over which Jacob wept was a foreign blood, and that over which I weep is flowing from the side of my Son. If they have not broken your bones, O my Son, as it is written in their law, so that (the malefactors) might be delivered from their pain, they have pushed the spear-head into your divine side.

" No evil deed was left, O my beloved, which they did not do to you before they crucified you, and no injustice was left, O my beloved, which they did not do to you. Woe is me, O my beloved Son, my reins are bursting inside me. I never saw a physician healing people like you, O my beloved Son, and in spite of that they struck<sup>4</sup> you. You have been a physician to their diseases which you cured, and in spite of that they nailed you to the wood of the cross. You have been a physician, O my Child,<sup>5</sup> to their men born blind, and you gave them

<sup>1</sup> About this sentence, cf. *An Apocryphal Jeremiah*, in my *Woodbrooke Studies*, vol. i., p. 159.

<sup>2</sup> M. 127 omits all this sentence.

<sup>3</sup> Presumably not her husband but the Patriarch.

<sup>4</sup> There is a slight difference in the meaning of the texts of the two MSS.

<sup>5</sup> M. 127 : " O my Son."



their sight,<sup>1</sup> and in spite of that the unbelieving Jews did not feel ashamed to insult you. You have been a physician, O my Son, and you drove out their demons from them, and in spite of that they did not honour you but said, 'You drive them out by Beel-Zebul.'<sup>2</sup> You have been a physician, O my Son, and you cured them from hæmorrhage, and in spite of that they did not feel ashamed of you, but they pierced you in your side, O my beloved, with a spear-head. I adjure you, O John, to come with me to the tomb of my Son. I implore you, O John, to accompany me to my only Son so that I may pay a visit to His cross.<sup>3</sup> I know, O John, that I am putting you to much trouble with the sorrow of my heart, but have patience with me and you will receive much blessing from my beloved Son."<sup>4</sup>

The Virgin uttered these and similar words in her lamentations and said :<sup>5</sup> "O John, if I do not see His tomb I shall not be comforted in my sorrow." And John used to comfort her saying : "Cease your weeping because they have buried Him with perfume, incense, and new wrappings, near a garden." The Virgin, however, wept, saying : "If the ark of Noah were the place of the burial of my Son, I shall not be comforted unless I see Him and weep over Him." And John said to her : "How can you go while four soldiers from the soldiers of the Governor are lying on the sepulchre?" And the Virgin remained in this weeping and wailing over her Son in the day of His crucifixion, the Sabbath day, to the morning of Sunday.

As to the soldiers whom the Governor had detailed to guard the tomb, the heads of the Jews had entered with them into a conspiracy unknown to the Governor and the Centurion, to the effect that if the erring one were perchance to rise they should inform them of the fact before the Governor. For this and for their not disclosing this conspiracy to Pilate they were promised much money and silver. The Jews held this conspiracy with the soldiers before the latter went to guard the tomb.

When, however (Jesus) rose and many signs took place at His

<sup>1</sup> M. 127 omits this sentence.

<sup>2</sup> The author does not use the Syriac form *Beel-Zebub* with a *b* at the end.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. "So that I may pay Him a visit on the cross." M. 127 omits all this sentence.

<sup>4</sup> M. 87 omits "from my beloved Son."

<sup>5</sup> M. 127 omits all this sentence.



resurrection, the soldiers were frightened and terrified, and became like dead men. They entered the town early in the morning and remembering the deceitful words of the Jews they went to them while it was still dark before they went to the Governor and apprised them of the fact that Jesus of Nazareth<sup>1</sup> had risen from the dead as He had predicted. The Jews went then in haste and related to the High Priest the words of the soldiers to the effect that Jesus had risen from the dead ; and they shouted saying : "Woe to the Jews and to their lives, because this day has more evil in it for them than the day in which He was crucified. What shall we do if the Governor and the centurion hear that He rose from the dead. We shall all fall into his hands. But let us see first what really took place." And they went to the tomb while it was still early in the morning, and did not find the body of Jesus in it. Then they tore their garments, gave silver to the four soldiers apart from His garments and said : "Will He appear to everybody ?" In short every one of them (in their confusion) said something.<sup>2</sup>

As to the Virgin she did not neglect to go to the tomb early on Sunday morning. Mary Magdalene had, however, preceded her to the sepulchre<sup>3</sup> and noticed that the stone had been rolled away from it. And the Virgin said : "This is a sign that occurred in the case of my Son, and it perplexes me ; Who rolled away this stone from the door of the sepulchre ?" The Virgin looked then in the four directions of the tomb, and did not find in it the body of her Son, and she sat down and reverted to her wailing and lamentation and said :

"Woe is me, O my beloved Son, who is it that carried your body and added to the sorrow of my heart ? I have not been at all to the tomb of my father nor to that of my mother ; when my father died I was a young girl in the temple. Nor have I ever been to the grave of my father Joseph<sup>4</sup> who endured so many<sup>5</sup> troubles with you, O my Son. This day that I came to your tomb, O my Son, in order to inform myself concerning your body, another sorrow has been

<sup>1</sup> M. 127 omits "of Nazareth."

<sup>2</sup> Lit. "A word."

<sup>3</sup> This is against the following document or *Martyrdom of Pilate* which wrongly asserts that it was the Virgin Mary who went first to the sepulchre. See below, p. 245.

<sup>4</sup> *I.e.*, Joseph her husband. In the following page Joseph dies on the day of the crucifixion. On the use of the word "father" in this connection see above, p. 187.

<sup>5</sup> Lit. "all these."

added to my sorrow. This day that I came to your tomb, O my Child, I met with a bitter disappointment, as I did not find your body in it, O my Son.<sup>1</sup> On the Golgotha they did not permit me to satisfy my desire for looking at you to my satisfaction, and to-day they did not allow me to satisfy my desire for looking at your body in the grave to my heart's desire. On the day of your birth, in Bethlehem, O my beloved Son, when your star shone, Herod did not glorify you, and on the day of your crucifixion, O my Son, when the sun suffered eclipse, the Jews<sup>2</sup> did not believe in you.

"On the day I brought you forth in Bethlehem, O my Son, your angels surrounded you in order to glorify you, and on the day of your resurrection, O my beloved Son, your brethren forsook you.<sup>3</sup> On the day I brought you forth in Bethlehem, O my beloved Son, the shepherds came at day-break and worshipped you, and on the day of your death, O my beloved Son, I came to your tomb and did not find your body in it. On the day I brought you forth in Bethlehem, O my Son, the Magi came to you with their offerings, and on the day of your crucifixion, O my Son,<sup>4</sup> a wicked robber insulted you. The day of your birth in Bethlehem, O my Son, the animals praised it, and on the day of your crucifixion, O my beloved, I met with pain and sorrow.<sup>5</sup> On the day of your birth in Bethlehem, O my beloved Son, Joseph served you, and on the day of your crucifixion, O my beloved, the same Joseph, my father, died.<sup>6</sup>

"Woe is me, O my beloved, there is no sorrow like my sorrow, nor is there any pain like the pain of a mother looking at her son on the wood of the cross. O my Son, I went to the Golgotha and did not see your body on the wood of the cross;<sup>7</sup> and I came to the door of your tomb asking for you, and you did not answer me. Woe is me, O my beloved Son, my sorrow is twofold to-day, because I did not see your body on the wood so that I might weep over it,<sup>8</sup> and because I did not find it in the tomb so that I might worship it. I adjure the four soldiers who keep watch over your tomb and your body to

<sup>1</sup> M. 127 omits "O my Son."

<sup>2</sup> M. 127 omits "the Jews."

<sup>3</sup> M. 87 adds: "with anxiety."

<sup>4</sup> M. 87: "O light of my eyes."

<sup>5</sup> M. 87: "with pain of the heart."

<sup>6</sup> The author evidently believes that Joseph died on the day of the crucifixion of Jesus.

<sup>7</sup> The author refers here to a second visit by the Virgin to the Golgotha.

<sup>8</sup> M. 87 omits this sentence.



deliver your body if perchance they have removed it through bribery.<sup>1</sup> I implore Joseph and weep before Nicodemus to reassure me concerning your body since they took it on their own responsibility from Pilate and laid it in this tomb. I have never seen Joseph nor do I know Nicodemus, but on account of the intensity of my pain I let my heart go to them."

This is what the Virgin said over the tomb of her Son. She was perplexed in her soul from her fear of the Jews and from the fact that she did not find the body of her Son in the tomb. While she was thinking deeply<sup>2</sup> a sudden light shone and an exquisite perfume was perceived from the right side of the tomb, as if wafted from an incense tree.<sup>3</sup> The Virgin looked towards the direction of the scent and saw the good God standing, clad in a heavenly robe and His face greatly suffused with joy. And He said to her: "O woman, what makes you burst into this affectionate wailing at this empty tomb which contains no body?" And she replied: "It is my sorrow; and this sorrow, O my Lord, arises from the fact that I did not find the body of my Son, so that I might weep over it and be somewhat comforted." And Jesus said to her: "If you were not satisfied in weeping and wailing throughout all this length of time, had you found the body of your Son in the tomb you would have never ceased your lamentation." And she replied: "O my lord, if I had found it I would have been somewhat comforted by it."

And he said to her: "O woman, if you had seen your Son dead, you would have had no comfort in looking at His side pierced with a spear, at His hands and feet wounded by the driving of nails in them, and at His body smeared with blood. Now, O woman, comfort yourself, because it was more advantageous for you not to have seen Him dead and wept all the more over Him. What comfort did you derive when you saw Him alive on the cross, and dead with wrappings round Him? Truly, O woman, you have had much courage in your soul in coming to this place, while it is still dark and while all this great disturbance reigns in the town. The guards went from here and are now conspiring with the Jews in lying terms concerning your Son. Does the tomb, in which the body of your Son was laid

<sup>1</sup> Lit. "by silver."

<sup>2</sup> M. 127 omits this sentence.

<sup>3</sup> M. 127 omits the last sentence.



belong to the Jews ?<sup>1</sup> No, O woman, I know the man called Joseph, and this garden belongs to him."

And the Virgin said to him : "O my lord, you know everything that happened to my Son, and the love which they showed to Him in laying Him in this tomb. I could not bear to stay in the house of John any longer, but I came to enquire after Him. Now, O my lord, since<sup>2</sup> you are the owner of the garden—and the beauty of your dresses<sup>3</sup> and the sweet words with which you have answered me testify to this—if there is pity in your heart for me show it to me now, because I have no other child. Disclose to me His secret and what they did with His body since I did not find it in His tomb. Have the Jews carried it away because of their hatred for the Governor concerning it? And also, O my lord, if it is hidden in your garden and you know who took it there, have pity on me and show me its place so that I may just see it. By your life, O my brother, I have never seen this place except to-day."

And Jesus said to her : "O Mary, you have wept sufficiently. The living one<sup>4</sup> is the one who is speaking to you ; the one who was crucified is now standing near you ; the one whom you are seeking is the one who is comforting you ; the one for whom you are asking is the one who is clad in this heavenly robe ; the one whose tomb you are wishing to see is the one who smashed the doors of brass.<sup>5</sup> O Mary, recognise my glory ; lo I am comforting you with the words of life, be not ashamed therefore, nor afraid. Look at my face, O my mother, and you will recognise me. It is I who raised Lazarus in Bethany. It is I Jesus who is resurrection and life. It is I Jesus whose blood flowed on the rock in the *Kranion*. It is I Jesus who is comforting you in your sorrow. It is I Jesus over whom you are weeping, who is now comforting you at the beginning of His resurrection. No one took away my body, O my mother, but I rose according to the will of my Father. You came to-day to the tomb, O my mother, and I took up out of Hades all those who were fettered in it, and saved those who had fallen into sin."

<sup>1</sup> M. 87 omits this sentence.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. "If."

<sup>3</sup> M. 127, "with your glory."

<sup>4</sup> *al-hayy* seems to be used here as a title. It is one of the old titles of Christ.

<sup>5</sup> *I.e.* of Hades.

When the Virgin heard this she received strength and comfort<sup>1</sup> and ceased her weeping and anxiety. She lifted up her eyes from the ground, filled her sight from Him, saw Him in the grace of His divinity and said: "You have truly risen, O my Son and my Lord! You have truly risen!"<sup>2</sup> And she bent over Him and embraced Him. And He said to her: "Enough, O mother, of the joy which I granted you through my resurrection. Look now at the spoliation of Hades, O my mother, and see how glad and joyful its inmates are. I shall present them as an offering to my Father before I take them to Paradise."<sup>3</sup>

And the Virgin looked round Him and saw the multitudes which He had taken up from Hades, clad in white robes. She was amazed at them, and Jesus said to her: "Go in haste and announce my resurrection from the dead to my brethren. Go in haste, O my mother, leave this place and do not stand at the right side of my tomb, because a company of the Jews will come with Pilate to find out what took place, and see if I<sup>4</sup> would raise the dead, and give sight to the blind and motion to the lame."

After the Lord Jesus said this to His mother He disappeared from her sight. She then left the tomb with haste and went and told the Apostles and the women that the Lord had risen from the dead,<sup>5</sup> and they also came to see what had happened. The news spread then in all the town that Jesus of Nazareth rose from the dead as He had said, and that He told His mother: "I will precede you to Jerusalem, you will all see me and I will bless you there."<sup>6</sup>

As to the High Priests and the Jews, they went in the morning to Pilate, the Governor, as if they had heard nothing, and said to him: "O our lord Governor, error has increased and scandals have multiplied

<sup>1</sup> M. 127 omits "and comfort."

<sup>2</sup> M. 1270 only: "You have truly risen, O my father."

<sup>3</sup> On the descent of Christ into Hades see *Gospel of Nicodemus* in James' *Apocryphal N.T.*, pp. 123-140, and many other works of the Fathers.

<sup>4</sup> M. 127 omits this sentence.

<sup>5</sup> There is no doubt that present document attributes to the Virgin Mary the incidents attributed by John the Evangelist (xx. 1-19) to Mary Magdalene. The same thing is done by the author of the *Martyrdom of Pilate*. See below, p. 245.

<sup>6</sup> M. 127 has: "... as He had said to His mother. I will precede you to Galilee." This is of course more in harmony with Matt. xxviii. 7.



to-day at the sepulchre. Summon the soldiers, one by one, so that they may relate His story to us, before any of us goes there." And Pilate said to them "I heard that He rose from the dead. I believe what I saw in a vision that Jesus rose this day from the dead. By the life of the Emperor and by the law of Moses I do not lie when I say that I saw Him last night while I was lying in my bed, and was grieved at the fact that I had laid hands on Him, and thought that perchance He may be the Son of God on account of the signs that appeared in heaven when He died on the cross. I saw Him standing and shining more than the sun. All the town, except the gathering-place of the Jews, shone with His light more than the light of the sun. And He said to me :

'O Pilate, why are you weeping because you ordered Jesus to be flogged? What is written about Him has been fulfilled. Return to me, and I will forgive you. I am Jesus who died on the cross. I am Jesus who rose to-day<sup>1</sup> from the dead. This light which you see to-day is the glory of my resurrection which has enlightened all the world with joy. Look well, O Pilate, and see that this sign which shines on the inhabited earth is more luminous than the light of the sun and is to convince you that I rose from the dead. Hasten to my tomb and you will see the wrappings lying in it guarded by angels. Kiss them and worship them. Fight for my resurrection and you will witness many miracles to-day at the sepulchre: the lame shall walk, the blind shall see, and the dead shall rise by my power.<sup>2</sup> O Pilate, you will shine in the light of my resurrection, which the Jews will deny.'

When Pilate uttered these words in his house the Jews raised their voices and said: "O our lord, the emir,<sup>3</sup> it is not necessary to relate all this to the people, as it is nothing but a dream. The law says, 'At the mouth of two or three witnesses every word is established';<sup>4</sup> instead of three witnesses, lo there are four who guarded the tomb. If these tell you that He rose, their words are true, and if they do not do so, we shall have nothing to do with dreams."

Then Pilate summoned the four soldiers and said to them: "What

<sup>1</sup> M. 127 omits "to-day."

<sup>2</sup> M. 87: "and the dead lo I shall raise by my death."

<sup>3</sup> The word *emir* is here the translation of the Coptic word meaning ἡγεμών, *præses*. See *Pat. Orient.* ii., 171.

<sup>4</sup> Deut. xvii. 6; xix. 15; Matt. xviii. 16.



happened to-day at the sepulchre?" And they divided curse among themselves and lied and said that He did not rise but was carried away. And Pilate ordered that they should be separated from one another in different places. The first one was then ushered in, and Pilate said to him: "Tell me the truth who carried away the body of Jesus?" And he answered: "Peter and John." And the Governor ordered him to be removed to a place by himself. Then he summoned the second one and said to him: "I know that you do not speak but the truth, tell me which of the apostles carried away the body of Jesus from the tomb?" And he answered: "The eleven apostles came with His disciples<sup>1</sup> and carried Him away by stealth." And Pilate ordered that this one also should be removed to a place by himself. He then summoned the third one and said to him: "I value your testimony more than that of all the others, tell me who carried away the body of Jesus from the sepulchre?" And he answered: "Joseph and Nicodemus."<sup>2</sup>

Pilate then called the fourth one and said to him: "You are the head of these soldiers and I confided them to you. Disclose to me now all what took place, and how they removed the body of Jesus from the tomb while you were guarding it." And he answered: "O our Lord the emir, we were asleep and we do not know who carried it away. When we woke up we looked for it and found it below the water which is in the garden, and we said that they did this, out of fear."

Then Pilate said to the Jews and to the centurion: "Are these words consistent? Are they not sustained by lies?" And he ordered that the soldiers should be kept under guard until he had gone himself to the tomb. Then he arose with the high priests and the heads of the soldiers<sup>3</sup> and went to the tomb. They found the wrappings lying in the tomb<sup>4</sup> without the body.<sup>5</sup> And Pilate said: "O men who hate their own life, if they had taken away the body would they not have taken the wrappings with it?" And (the Jews) answered: "See, these wrappings do not belong to Him, but to some one else." And Pilate recalled the words of Jesus to him that

<sup>1</sup> M. 127 omits: "with His disciples."

<sup>2</sup> M. 87 adds: "And the rest of their relations."

<sup>3</sup> M. 87, "and the heads and the soldiers."

<sup>4</sup> M. 127 omits "in the tomb."

<sup>5</sup> Lit. "without any man."

great miracles will take place in the sepulchre, and he hastened and entered into it, and took the wrappings, that is to say the pieces of linen with which Jesus was shrouded, wept over them and embraced them with joy.

Then he looked at the centurion who was standing at the entrance of the tomb, and who was with one eye only as his other eye had been put out in a war, and a considerable time had elapsed without him having seen anything with it. Pilate then conceived the idea, through the greatness of his faith, that these wrappings will give light to the centurion's eye and with this thought he presented the wrappings to him and said : "O my brother, do you not perceive the exquisiteness of the odour of these wrappings and see as if they were sprinkled with perfume and incense ?"<sup>1</sup>

And the Jews said : "O Pilate, you know that Joseph placed on Him much perfume and incense, and that they shrouded Him with myrrh and sweet spices of aloe, and this sweet scent comes from them." And Pilate said to them : "If they placed perfumes on the wrappings only, why is all this tomb perfumed with musk and sweet spices of high value and exquisite odour ?" And they answered : "The scent that you are smelling is the odour of the flowers of the gardens, wafted by the winds."<sup>2</sup> And Pilate replied to them : "You have trodden on the path of perdition for yourselves, have walked in it and fallen in a place from which you will have no deliverance for ever." And they said to him : "Nothing is due to you from us, and you had no right to come to the tomb of this man. You are the Governor of the City<sup>3</sup> and not of this tomb. Lo, the High Priests and the heads of the Jews are cognisant of the affair, and it does not behove you to fight the Jews for the sake of a dead man."

And Pilate said to the centurion : "O brother, do you not notice the bitterness of the hatred that the Jews have for the Lord Jesus ? We have acted according to their desires and have crucified Him, and all the world was on the brink of ruin and destruction on account of their injustice. They want us now to stumble on their sin and aver that He has not risen from the dead, in order that His wrath

<sup>1</sup> M. 87 omits "and incense."

<sup>2</sup> M. 127 omits the last sentence.

<sup>3</sup> M. 87, "to those who are in need in it; and they have not made you the Governor of this tomb."



may come back on us<sup>1</sup> another time and destroy us completely.' Pilate uttered these words to the centurion while holding the wrappings with his hands and embracing them. Then he said: "I believe that the body which has been wrapped in you rose from the dead." And the centurion also had faith like Pilate, and seizing the wrappings he embraced them, and when they touched his face he immediately saw with the blind eye as before, as if Jesus had laid His hand on it as He had done with the man who was born blind.

How great was the spectacle of the multitudes who had also gone to the tomb! They were from all countries, and they had come to Jerusalem for the Passover, and seen (Jesus) on the cross on the day of the crucifixion. When they had heard that Pilate had gone to the sepulchre to see whether Jesus had risen, they also had come with the expectation that He might rise and appear to them like Lazarus. This is the reason why great multitudes had come to the tomb of Jesus in order to see Him. And they beheld the great miracles and how the centurion saw, and were amazed at what (Jesus) had done.

And Pilate said to the centurion: "O my brother, observe the miracles of Jesus in His tomb apart from the miracles that took place at His death on the cross." And the centurion tore up his clothes in order the better to show his joy and the favour<sup>2</sup> which he had received, and said: "The power of Jesus has been made manifest. He is truly God and Son of God, and I have believed in Him. My faith has increased from the fact that He being God rose from the dead. I shall not serve a king any more, but solely my God Jesus."<sup>3</sup> And he threw away his sword and gave up his military career.<sup>4</sup> While the wrappings were twisted round his hands he ran to this place and that place and embraced them. And Pilate was greatly amazed and glorified God.

And the Jews said to the centurion: "You are a stranger, and you do not know the deeds done by Jesus through Beel-Zebul."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M. 127, "So that He may send His wrath against us."

<sup>2</sup> M. 87, "all the grace." <sup>3</sup> M. 127 adds, "Christ."

<sup>4</sup> M. 87, "and the shield of his military career."

<sup>5</sup> See my note above and compare the following: "And the Jews said (to Pilate): 'He is a sorcerer and it is in the name of Beelzebub, prince of the demons, that he drives away demons,'" *Gospel of Nicodemus* in Migne's *Dict. des Apocryphes*, i., 1103 and 1106; James' *Apocr. N.T.*, p. 96. This is of course inspired from Matt. xii. 24, Luke xi. 15.



What He did in His life He is now doing at His death." And they added: "When a sorcerer dies, the Genii<sup>1</sup> do other deeds in his grave and they deceive many people through them. These deeds are indeed those of sorcerers and conjurers." And Pilate said to them: "We have never heard that sorcerers and conjurers performed such miracles. Since you are heaping<sup>2</sup> lies out of your own mind on the life of the Lord, His wrath will come on you." And they said: "We deliver our souls to judgment, may His blood be on<sup>3</sup> us and our children for ever and ever." And Pilate said to the centurion: "O my brother, do not exchange cheaply the great gift which you have received for the lie of the hatred of the Jews."

Then Pilate turned to the Jews and said to them: "Where is the dead man who, you said, was Jesus? It is perchance He." And the Jews preceded Pilate and the centurion to the well which was in the garden, and it was a deep well. And I Gamaliel was following with the crowd. And they went down to the bottom of the well, and found in it the dead man shrouded and laid in a separate place. And the Jews shouted: "Here is the Nazarene sorcerer who gave us so much trouble! You say that He rose, and He is at the bottom of the well!" And Pilate ordered them to draw him up, and summoned Joseph and Nicodemus and said to them: "Are these the wrappings with which you shrouded the body of Jesus?" And they answered: "The wrappings which you are holding in your hands are those of Jesus. As to this corpse it is that of the robber who was crucified with Jesus." And the company of the Jews<sup>4</sup> threw themselves on Joseph and Nicodemus wishing to cast them into the depth of the well because they had spoken the truth. They would have done it were it not for the fact that Pilate and his soldiers shielded them.

<sup>1</sup> This word seems at first sight to denote a post-Islamic author. It must, however, be remembered that the word *jinn* is found in Ethiopic in the sense of "demon," "evil spirit." Further, the word in the mind of the author may have been "demon, evil spirit" and the translator—in case the document is a translation by Cyriacus—may have used an Arabic word that was better understood by his readers.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. "prophesying."

<sup>3</sup> M. 87, "But they delivered their souls to judgment saying: 'May His blood and His death be on them.'"

<sup>4</sup> M. 127, "All the Jews."

When Pilate noticed their confusion and their cry he beckoned to them to be quiet. He had full confidence in the words spoken to him by the Lord Jesus to the effect that dead men would rise from His tomb. He summoned, therefore, the heads of the Jews and said to them : " We do not believe at all that this is Jesus of Nazareth." And they replied to him : " If you believe it or do not believe it,<sup>1</sup> we do believe it." And he said to them : " It is right then that we should leave him in his tomb like other dead men." And he summoned Joseph and Nicodemus another time and said to them : " Shroud him with these wrappings as before." And the Jews shouted : " We do not accept Joseph, and Nicodemus has<sup>2</sup> no portion with us,<sup>1</sup> because his<sup>3</sup> portion is with Jesus." And Pilate said : " I have greater right."<sup>4</sup>

Then they took the wrappings that belonged to the Lord Jesus and shrouded<sup>5</sup> the body of that dead man with them. And Pilate and his soldiers lifted it and placed it in the tomb in which Jesus lay. And he ordered the people to place the stone at the entrance of the tomb as they had done in the case of Jesus. Then Pilate stretched his hands and prayed at the door of the sepulchre and said thus :—

" I implore you to-day, O Lord Jesus. You are the resurrection and the life, the giver of life to all and to the dead. I believe that you rose again as you appeared to me. Do not judge me, O my Lord, because I am doing this. I have not done it from fear of the Jews, nor to test your resurrection. O my Lord, I have confidence in your words and in the miracles which you have wrought. You are living because you raised many dead men. Now, O my Lord, do not be angry with me because I placed a foreign corpse in the place in which lay your body. I did this to put to shame and confusion those who deny your resurrection. To them belong shame and confusion for ever and ever, and to you are due glory and honour from the mouth of your servant Pilate for ever and for ever and ever."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M. 127 omits " or do not believe it."

<sup>2</sup> M. 127 : " We do not accept Joseph and Nicodemus because they have no portion with us."

<sup>3</sup> M. 127 : " their."

<sup>4</sup> M. 127 adds : " than they."

<sup>5</sup> Under the influence of Syriac the text places the pronoun before the noun immediately after the verb, which is contrary to the genius of the Arabic language.

<sup>6</sup> M. 127 adds : " Amen."



When Pilate recited this prayer with outstretched hands at the tomb, a voice came from the dead man saying : "O my lord Pilate, open to me the door of the tomb in order that I may come out. I was the first to open the door<sup>1</sup> of Paradise. Lift the stone, O my lord Pilate, so that I may come out by the power of my Lord Jesus Christ who rose from the dead."

And Pilate shouted with jubilation on account of the joy and happiness which filled his heart and his soul, to such an extent that the rocks echoed his voice. And he then ordered the people that were standing to lift the stone from the door of the tomb, and immediately the dead man came out walking, and he bowed before Pilate, the Governor. As to the Jews who were present, they were seized with panic, shame, and confusion, and ran away wailing secretly from their fear of the Governor.

And Pilate ordered all the soldiers to pursue the Jews and strike them with the swords which they were holding, and they wounded many of them. Then Pilate turned to the dead man and said to him : "O my son, who raised you in this short time ? It is only in case Jesus was with you that He would have been able to raise you so quickly." And the dead man<sup>2</sup> said to him : "Did you not see the great light that shone ? The Lord Jesus raised me while you were praying, and spoke to me saying, 'Tell my beloved Pilate to fight for my resurrection because I have decided to appoint him his portion in Paradise<sup>3</sup> as I appointed to you. It is imperative that they should condemn him as they have condemned me, before they take off his head.'"

And Pilate said to him : "From where are you,<sup>4</sup> and who threw you in this well ?" And the robber replied, saying : "I am the robber who has been crucified at His right. I have been deemed worthy of all favours and gifts before my Lord Jesus Christ because of the few comforting words that I uttered while He was on the wood of the cross. I was the first one to rise from the tomb of Jesus, O my lord Pilate, and as you opened to me the door of His sepulchre, so He opened to me the door of Paradise. I recognise this high perfume as it is from the tree of life which my soul is enjoying."

<sup>1</sup> M. 127 omits "door."

<sup>2</sup> M. 87, "and he."

<sup>3</sup> M. 87, "to appoint him his portion from the tree of life."

<sup>4</sup> M. 127, "From which tribe are you ?"

At that moment I Gamaliel followed the crowd and my fathers Joseph and Nicodemus, because fear did not allow the Apostles to come to the sepulchre and witness what happened to Him. They were hiding in every place from fear of the Jews. I, Gamaliel, walked with the crowds and witnessed all what happened in the tomb of my Lord Jesus,<sup>1</sup> and the great fight that Pilate undertook against the High Priests,<sup>2</sup> who returned to town with haste, pressing against one another on account of His resurrection from the dead, while Pilate was holding the wrappings on his arms. And the multitudes wished to see those men who had come to town on the occasion of the feast of the Passover from every district and from every tribe.

Then Pilate repaired to the house of the High Priest along with the crowd, and they demolished it and plundered all what he<sup>3</sup> had. And Pilate said to the centurion: "O my brother,<sup>4</sup> you saw with your own eyes and heard (with your own ears) the great number of people who believed in Jesus Christ on account of the resplendent miracles witnessed also by the wicked and accursed Jews, who did not believe."

Let us here end the discourse on the Virgin and her sweet wailing, and on the death and resurrection of her Son from the dead. These (words) have been written by Gamaliel and Nicodemus, the venerable chiefs, and they placed them in Jerusalem, the holy city, and in all the districts that surround it, by the grace and love<sup>5</sup> of our Lord and God Jesus Christ to whom are due glory, power, and honour<sup>6</sup> for ever and ever. Amen.

Here ends this great discourse. May God have mercy upon the scribe, the reader, the attentive hearers, and all the believers! Amen. Amen. Amen.

<sup>1</sup> M. 127 omits "of my Lord Jesus."

<sup>2</sup> M. 127 adds "the accursed."

<sup>3</sup> M. 127, "they."

<sup>4</sup> M. 87 omits "O my brother."

<sup>5</sup> M. 87, "and the love of men which belongs to."

<sup>6</sup> M. 87 omits "power and honour."



## II. *Martyrdom of Pilate.*

### PREFATORY NOTE.

I give in the following pages the text and the translation (accompanied by a critical apparatus) of an apocryphal document entitled *Martyrdom of Pilate*. Like the previous document it is attributed to Cyriacus, bishop of Oxyrhynchus, but the real author of all its historical narrative is, as we learn from the beginning and the end of the story and from some passages found in the middle of it, Gamaliel himself. We may, therefore, consider it as a second Gamaliel apocryphon.

I have edited the text from three independent MSS. Two of them belong to my own collection of MSS. and are numbered Mingana Syr. 127 and Mingana Syr. 355 (hereafter M. 127 and M. 355). The third MS. is Paris Arab. 152<sup>1</sup> (hereafter P.). M. 127 and M. 355 are written in Garshūni (Arabic in Syriac characters) and P. is in Arabic characters.<sup>2</sup> From notes that I have ventured to write at the foot of the following pages, it will be seen that I believe that M. 355 is transcribed from a MS. which was in Arabic characters. The same conclusion may to some extent be reached with regard to M. 127.

I have placed the text of M. 127 in the body of the page and the variants of M. 355 and P. in the footnotes. I have transcribed each MS. in the characters in which it was found, *viz.* M. 127 and M. 355 in Garshūni, and P. in Arabic. I have given almost all the variants of M. 355, but in order not to render the text of the notes very bulky I have noted only the most important variants of P. In the final section, however, which deals with the Apostle John and his voyage to Rome—a section which is completely missing in M. 127—I registered also nearly all the variants of P. As there were only two MSS. to be dealt with, the footnotes did not appear to me to be abnormally bulky by the adoption of such a method.

<sup>1</sup> P. 35 in Baron de Slane's *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes*. In the "ancient fonds" the number of the MS. was 160.

<sup>2</sup> About *Cod. Vat. Syr.* 199, see below.

I have also read *Cod. Vat. Syr.* 199 which is in Garshūni like my own MSS. I noticed that it follows generally either M. 127 or M. 355, and that only occasionally it agrees with P.<sup>1</sup>

I adopted also the above method for another and a more cogent reason. The variant readings exhibited by the three MSS. are so numerous, so varied in character and so important that I have come to the conclusion that they represent three more or less different recensions of the story, and that P. was executed with an eye on the interest of Egyptian Christians. Now to condense in a single narrative the text of three different recensions of a story is almost an impossibility. The problem could have been better solved if I had edited separately the text of all M. 127, all M. 355, and all P. as I did in the case of the *Apocryphal Jeremiah*<sup>2</sup> but the story did not appear to me to be of such importance as to justify this course.

M. 127 is dated 1994 of the Greeks (A.D. 1683), and it is the same MS. as that which contains the above documents dealing with the Virgin Mary and the death and resurrection of Christ or the *Lament of the Virgin* as I have called it. M. 355 has no date, but may be ascribed to about A.D. 1800. P. is assigned by Baron de Slane to the 16th Christian century, which is probable, with the sole reservation that I am tempted to place it towards the end rather than the beginning or the middle of the 16th century.

In the translation I only registered in the footnotes the most important variants which seemed to me likely to throw light on the sources of the author. Further, I did not attempt to correct the numerous lexicographical and grammatical mistakes found in the text of the three MSS. for reasons given in the preface of the previous document.

The document appears to me to be, like its predecessors, exclusively

<sup>1</sup> The photographs of the pages of the MS. were kindly communicated by Mr. Crum, but they came to me too late to be utilised for the text. To give the reader a fairly accurate idea of the peculiarities of the MS. I placed at the end of the edition the important variants of the first half of the story, but I have done this only in cases in which V. 199—as we may call the MS.—differs from the other three MSS. which I have utilised for my edition. It will be useful here to remark that V. 199 contains (against M. 127) the final part of the story which deals with the Apostle John and his voyage to Rome.

<sup>2</sup> In my *Woodbrooke Studies*, vol. i., pp. 148-233.



Coptic in origin. Among the Christian Churches of the East it is only the Coptic Church that considers Pilate as a saint and holds a feast in his honour. The Syrian Churches while not so hostile to Pilate as the Western Churches, do not certainly go so far as to make a saint of him, in spite of the fact that a West Syrian Patriarch bore the name *Pilate*.<sup>1</sup>

That the document falls within the circle of the *Acta Pilati* and the *Ἀναφορά Πιλάτου* goes without saying.<sup>2</sup> The *Anaphora* seems to presuppose the *Acta*, itself later than the *παράδοσις Πιλάτου* which relates, like the present document, that the Emperor summoned Pilate to Rome to answer for the crucifixion of Jesus, and there condemned him to death. In my opinion all these Greek documents emanate also from Egypt, and Egypt alone. They have nothing to do with Syria and Palestine, and have very little in common with the Churches of the West.

The reader will doubtless notice from my foot-notes that I have compared the present document with the Syriac, Coptic, and Ethiopic apocrypha so ably edited and translated by Budge, and also with some other parallel documents.

#### TRANSLATION.

In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, we will begin with the help and assistance of God to write the history<sup>3</sup> of Pilate, the Governor of the City of Jerusalem.<sup>4</sup> May his prayers be with the children of baptism. Amen.

<sup>1</sup> Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.*, ii. 325. The tradition of the Ethiopic Church is to the effect that Pilate reported Longinus (one of the soldiers who had crucified Jesus) to Tiberius, who had him brought and tortured. See *Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church* (edit. Budge), iv. 1146.

<sup>2</sup> The two redactions of these two documents are edited by Tischendorf in his *Evang. Apocr.*, p. 433 sqq. (2nd edit.). All these Greek documents are either analysed or translated in M. R. James' useful and handy work: *The Apocryphal New Testament*.

<sup>3</sup> P. calls the story: "Martyrdom of Pilate" immediately [after the doxology.

<sup>4</sup> P. and M. 127 often write the word Jerusalem with a *yodh* at the beginning in the Hebrew way instead of an *Alaph* according to the Arabic and Syriac mode of writing. This tends to prove their Egyptian origin. See my note in *Woodbrooke Studies*, vol. i., p. 153.

A treatise composed by the holy Cyriacus,<sup>1</sup> bishop of the town of Bahnasa,<sup>2</sup> on the resurrection of our Lord from the dead, and on the tribulations undergone by Pontius<sup>3</sup> Pilate in the holy city, at the time of the crucifixion. In it he makes mention also of Joseph of Arimathæa and Nicodemus, the venerable chiefs, and of the persecution suffered by Pilate at the hand of the Jews for the name of Christ—to whom be glory and worship—and of the torments inflicted on him by Herod before he was sent by the latter to the Metropolis, the great city of Rome, where his head was cut off and his martyrdom completed.<sup>4</sup> The story is told as found in the copy written by Gamaliel and Horus,<sup>5</sup> the good, pious, and respectable teachers in all things dealing with God. They wrote it, because they were present with Joseph and Nicodemus and witnessed the ordeals of Christ which became the source of our life, and His glorious resurrection. They related that they wrote this martyrdom<sup>6</sup> after the prodigies and miracles that took place in the tomb of our Saviour, Jesus Christ, consequent upon His resurrection from the dead, and at the end of the machinations and intrigues of the wicked Jews. May the peace of God be with us. Amen.

When our Lord Jesus Christ was crucified in the place called *Kranion*,<sup>7</sup> which being interpreted means a row of stones—and it is

<sup>1</sup> P. has *Hyriacus* or *Horiacus* and so also M. 355 prima manu. See about him in my note above, p. 182. About the child Horus or Harpokrates see Budge's *Coptic Apocrypha*, p. 184.

<sup>2</sup> See the previous document, p. 182.

<sup>3</sup> An unusually bad error has been committed by Baron de Slane in his *Catalogue des Manuscrits Arabes* (de la Bibliothèque Nationale), p. 35. Having read the word *Bunṭi* as *Nabati* (in Arabic characters the simple transposition of the dot of *nūn* and *bā'*), he translated the sentence as "Pilate le Nabatéen" instead of "*Pontius Pilate*."

<sup>4</sup> M. 127 has "where Andrew Pilate."

<sup>5</sup> P. gives the name as *Anaius* (Anāyos). This Anaius appears to me to be the man called Aeneas in the Coptic fragments of the Gospel of Nicodemus (James' *Apocryphal N.T.*, p. 95), where he states that he was the "Protector of prætorian rank, learned in the law" and avers that he translated from Hebrew into Greek, in the time of the Emperor Theodosius, the memorials concerning Jesus, which were deposited with Pontius Pilate. See Aeneas' own preface to the Coptic *Acta Pilati* in *Pat. Orient.*, ix., p. 65 sqq.

<sup>6</sup> Or "this confession."

<sup>7</sup> *Al-akrānion* (Calvary). Here as in the preceding treatise, the author is transliterating the Greek *κρανίον*.



the Golgotha<sup>1</sup>—the venerable chiefs Joseph and Nicodemus got possession of His body and placed it in a new tomb. The Virgin Mary began then to weep and to show a keen desire to go to the tomb of her Son, but she could not do so from fear of the Jews, because it was the Sabbath Day, which follows Friday, and in it no one was allowed to proceed anywhere or to undertake any work. When the morning of Sunday arrived Mary took with her other women<sup>2</sup> who carried with them sweet spices and perfumes with which to anoint the tomb of the Saviour. And Mary<sup>3</sup> preceded the other women who followed her to the sepulchre early in the morning.

When she<sup>4</sup> reached the sepulchre she found the stone rolled away from it, and while in a state of amazement, she looked into the place in which lay the body of Jesus, but did not find it; she found, however, the linen clothes lying there, and the napkin that was over the head separated from the linen clothes and wrapped together in a place by itself. She saw also two angels in white sitting, the one at the head and the other at the feet.<sup>5</sup>

While she was weeping she turned herself back and saw the Saviour standing, and He said to her: "Woman, why are you weeping?" She, supposing Him to be the gardener answered Him saying: "Sir, if you have borne Him hence tell me where you have laid Him, and I will go and take Him away. And the Saviour said to her: "O Mary." And she answered and said "Rabboni"—which is to say My Master. "You rose, O my Son and my God, and your resurrection is magnificent, because you rose and granted salvation to the human kind, but O my Son and my God, I am

<sup>1</sup> The author has used the Greek and the Semitic form of the Calvary. I can find no probable support for his interpretation "Row of Stones."

<sup>2</sup> M. 355 and M. 127 mention here their names which are Mary Magdalene and Salome.

<sup>3</sup> M. 355 adds here "Magdalene" which seems to contradict the trend of the narrative of the story. There is no doubt that the document, against John xxi. 18, believes that it was the Virgin Mary and not Mary Magdalene that went first to the sepulchre. This error is also committed by the author of the so-called *Gospel of the Twelve Apostles* (*Pat. Orient.*, ii., p. 130).

<sup>4</sup> M. 127 uses here the plural form: They reached, they found.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. John xx. 7. M. 127 and partly M. 355 add here: "And the angels said to her, 'What ails thee and why seekest thou the living among the dead?' (Luke xxiv. 5).

amazed at your having allowed<sup>1</sup> these wicked people to inflict on you all these sufferings." And the Saviour said to her, "I have already told you all this before it happened."

And when His mother heard what He said to her and ascertained that it was He, she rejoiced and wished ardently to go near Him and worship Him. She was indeed so overjoyed that she thought she was dreaming. But He said to her: "Do not come near Me, because I have not gone yet to My Father. This is the reason why no corporeal being is able to approach Me and touch Me. Go you rather to My brethren and announce to them this joy which you have witnessed, and tell them to go to Galilee where they shall see Me.<sup>2</sup> Lo, I have told you." Then the Virgin Mary began to ask the Saviour, her Son, concerning the events that took place at the hands of the wicked Jews on the day of the Crucifixion, when He was hanging on the wood of the Cross and she was standing near Him and weeping, and He explained to her all the events that she had witnessed, one by one.

She said to Him: "O my beloved Son, O Life of my spirit and Master of my soul and body, why did you cry and say on the wood of the Cross, 'Eloi, Eloi, why hast thou forsaken me?'<sup>3</sup> And also, 'Scripture is fulfilled,' and also 'Father, into Thy hands I commend my spirit.'"<sup>4</sup> And He answered and said to her: "O my beloved mother, I cried to the Father with a sigh, like an only Son to His Father, and asked Him to allow Me to die,<sup>5</sup> in order to redeem with My death the death of Adam whom sin had killed and whom the sentence of death had cast into Hades. Yes, O mother, I cried to the Father and implored Him to look upon My humiliation and have pity on Adam and grant him another grace. And when I remembered his hunger and thirst I said, 'I thirst,'<sup>6</sup> and asked the Father on his behalf to quench his thirst from the water of the eternal life. When my side was pierced with a spear,<sup>7</sup> and I drank the cup<sup>8</sup> which all men are bound to drink, I asked the Father that on the day of my rising from the dead I might raise Adam from the death of sin, since I was pierced in my side because of him.

<sup>1</sup> I follow here P. There are in these sentences profound discrepancies between the three MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Matt. xxviii. 7; Mark xvi. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Matt. xxvii. 46; Mark xv. 33.

<sup>5</sup> I follow P. and M. 127.

<sup>7</sup> John xix. 34.

<sup>4</sup> Luke xxiii. 46.

<sup>6</sup> John xix. 28.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Matt. xxvi. 39.



“O my mother, the hierarchies of Heaven scoffed at Adam and complained about him to the Father saying, ‘All this happened to your only Son because of an earthly man on whom you breathed the breath of life.’ The Father, however, rebuked them and said ‘This is the creation of my hand and I love Him more than you.’ Hades complained<sup>1</sup> about him to Me and said, ‘Let me cast him into the bottom of the pit,’ but I rebuked it and said ‘Shut up your mouth, you will no more rise and seize Adam and cast him into the depths. He does not deserve now to be with you for one single hour. I came now to break up and smash your doors and throw you to the lowest depths, and to raise Adam to the heights.’

“The tormenting angels of Hell whose habit is to turn towards the west began then to vociferate, and they kindled fires which they inflamed with pitch and sulphur and shouted concerning the sin of Adam and said: ‘Let us destroy him and throw him to the great sufferings of the fire of Hell.’ Further, when they heard my conversation with him at the time I was lifted on the wood of the Cross and my saying to him: ‘O Adam, it is for your sake that all this has happened to me’ they cried and said, ‘Deliver him into our hands, sir, and we will do to him what he rightly deserves, and we will destroy him as if he had never existed.’ I rebuked them, however, and sternly reproved them, and I disclosed to them the fact that I have shed My precious blood for him so that I might save him and give him a share in My Kingdom.

“O my mother, I remembered the sadness and sorrowfulness that fell to the lot of Paradise. I recalled, O my mother, the mournfulness of Paradise and the fact that it was empty from the time in which Adam was driven out of it. Through My Passion and My Crucifixion I meant to restore Adam to Paradise. Did you not know, then, O my mother, why I remained nine months in your womb, and do you not understand the cause of my coming into this world? Did you not know that the events about which the ancient prophets have prophesied had to take place? Did you not realise that all this had to happen and that I had to deliver the rest of the captives from the hands of the enemy, and bring them out of the prison of Hades?

<sup>1</sup>The future tense is generally used in the following sentences in M. 127 and M. 355. For some of the above details cf. the *Coptic Book of the Resurrection* by the Apostle Bartholomew in Budge's *Coptic Apocrypha*, p. 197 and *passim*.

"I suffered all what I did suffer in order to elevate the elect to the heights of Heaven. I interceded with the Father on their behalf, not only by words but by the shedding of My blood on the Cross before you,<sup>1</sup> in order to deliver them and Adam their father from the evil consequences of his transgression. I do not hold him, therefore, responsible for the blasphemies uttered against Me for his sins, nor answerable for My thirst, for the crown of thorns which was placed on my head, for the hanging of my body on the wood of the Cross, and for the death which I accepted for him. On the contrary I asked the Father to forgive him all his sins. Have patience, O my mother, and I will ask the Father to tear up the written document of the slavery of Adam. O my mother, what would be the utility of this shedding of My blood on the earth if I did not raise this body to Heaven? In this day the heavenly beings will be reconciled with the terrestrial ones. Go now, in joy, O my mother, because I rose from the dead. I have demolished the wall of partitions<sup>2</sup> of Hades, and I have opened the door of Paradise for the thief at My right. I have also opened the door of Heaven before the angels<sup>3</sup> and they flapped their wings, the archangels girded their loins with their shining and majestic girdles, the heavenly powers danced with hymns and canticles, the Cherubim<sup>4</sup> and Seraphim began their glorifications, the Dominions desired to contemplate intensely the glory of My divinity, and the Thrones stood before the Throne."<sup>5</sup>

This is what the Saviour told His mother near the door of the tomb by way of consolation. He further said to her: "No corporeal man can touch Me because I am clad in an imperishable garment and immortal robe, till the time in which I shall ascend to My Father." When He uttered these words He disappeared from her sight and recommended her to tell His disciples to go to Galilee where they would see Him. When the women returned and narrated to the disciples the words which they had heard from the Saviour, they did not believe them, but fear did not allow them to show themselves to anyone until they repaired to Galilee.

<sup>1</sup> I follow P. in this sentence.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ephes. ii. 14.

<sup>3</sup> P., "The doors of heaven are to-day open before me."

<sup>4</sup> P. writes the word with a *shīn* instead of a *Kāf*. See my remark in the *Woodbrooke Studies*, vol. i., p. 188.

<sup>5</sup> There are some discrepancies here between the MSS. and some verbs are in the aorist tense.



When Pilate noticed all the miracles and prodigies that emanated from the tomb of the Saviour, he went to his house and prepared a great banquet for the poor and the needy on account of the joy that he experienced at the resurrection of the Saviour ; this was even more so in the case of Procula,<sup>1</sup> his wife, because she loved the Saviour intensely on account of what she had seen in her dream concerning Him. She had already made preparations to go and see the tomb in which the Saviour was placed in order to worship Him and know the precise spot in which His body was laid. A company of Jews, however, became cognisant of her plan and went and apprised their chiefs and told them that the wife of Pilate was in that very night proceeding to the tomb. These wicked people circulated the news among themselves, and after a conference, decided to lie in wait for her in order to seize her and kill Pilate.

They, therefore, summoned Barnābān,<sup>2</sup> the robber, and said to him : " We do not need to remind you of all the benefactions which we have showered on you. We set you free and delivered you from prison against the wish of the Governor, and we crucified Jesus of Nazareth in your place. We want you now to accompany us to-night to the tomb of Jesus and to do your best for us. It has come to our knowledge that that wicked foreigner, called Pilate, wishes to go with his wife and his children to the tomb of Jesus in order to worship Him. We will lie in wait for them and you will help us to kill them, destroy Pilate and plunder their possessions."

The affair appealed to Barnābān and pleased him exceedingly. He desired to possess something as he had come out of prison a pauper and a mendicant. When he heard, therefore, of possessions to plunder he was glad because he loved gold and silver. He was the brother of the wife of Judas who is from the wicked and perverse stock.<sup>3</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Procula or Procla (in the text *Abrukala*) is also the name of the wife of Pilate in the *Gospel of Nicodemus* in Migne's *Dict. des Apocryphes*, i., 1105. See James' *Apocr. New Testament*, p. 155. That she became a Christian is a tradition confirmed by an author as early as Origen (*Hom. on Mt.*, 35). She is considered a saint in the Greek Church where she has a feast on October 27th. Some writers have even identified her with Claudia of 2 Tim. iv. 21. This, however, is a pure fiction.

<sup>2</sup> There seems to be no doubt that this *Barnābān* is the robber *Barabbas* of Matt. xvii. 17-26, etc., who has been preferred to Christ.

<sup>3</sup> Does he mean the stock of Herod or that of the Jews?

wife of Barnābān, the sister of Judas, used to urge her husband to ask his Master<sup>1</sup> to intervene and deliver her brother from prison. Judas asked this several times of the Saviour, who, however, did not pay any heed to his saying and neglected it, because He was aware of what the man was going to be. When the sister noticed that He did not speak on behalf of her brother, she forsook Him completely. This was also on account of what her husband used to steal from the bag.<sup>2</sup> She began then to pay visits to the wives of the priests and incite them to crucify the Saviour.

After this the wicked company of the Jews resolved to kill Pilate with his wife and his children and to plunder his possessions. When I Gamaliel learned the conspiracy of these wicked people I did not neglect the matter, but I hastened to Joseph of Arimathæa, who had shrouded the body of the Saviour, and I disclosed to him the conspiracy of the Jews and their evil plot. When he heard it he hastened to the court and informed Pilate, the Governor, of what the Jews had plotted and were about to do to him. Whereupon Pilate summoned a company of his troops and revealed to them what had taken place; and he informed also the sentinels of the town and told them to be on their guard.

Then the God-loving Procula, wife of Pilate, arose in the night, took with her her maid-servants, her ladies-in-waiting and a number of private attendants<sup>3</sup> and proceeded to the tomb of the Saviour. She worshipped in the tomb and spread on it and also on the wood of the holy Cross perfumes of high value and sweet spices of exquisite scent. She then lit up many lamps in the tomb and burned much incense therein. While they were standing near the tomb the servants of the Jewish priests and a band of men and officers<sup>4</sup> with attendants, and a great company from the party of the elders arose and proceeded with the robber Barnābān to the tomb of the Saviour and to the spot where the womenfolk of Pilate were praying. Then the soldiers of Pilate sprang on them with swords, spears and stones, put them to the sword,<sup>5</sup> seized the robber Barnābān, bound him with fetters and brought him to Pilate.

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* the Christ.

<sup>2</sup> *Cf.* John xiii. 29. P. and M. 355: "On account of the revenue that accrued to her from the thefts of her husband."

<sup>3</sup> M. 355 says only: "Her maid-servants."

<sup>4</sup> *Cf.* John xviii. 3.

<sup>5</sup> P. omits this sentence.



When Pilate saw him he asked him : "Are you the robber Barnābān whom I released from prison, and instead of whose blood we shed innocent blood ? That innocent blood which we have unjustly shed will not fail to wreak vengeance on the one who acted towards him in an iniquitous way. To-day will redound on you all the evil, theft, robbery by violence, and homicide which you have perpetrated in this town, the inhabitants of which chose to release you and ransom you with the blood of Jesus. Now, O wretched and miserable one, God will show His justice towards you to-day. O robber, the shedding of the blood of Jesus with which they ransomed your own blood will not be slow in avenging itself on you." Then Pilate ordered that they should take Barnābān to the place where the Saviour was crucified, that they should crucify him there head downwards, that they should pierce him with a spear before he expired, that they should break the bones of his legs in order that he might die quickly, on account of all the untruthfulness told by his people. The soldiers of Pilate took him, did with him what Pilate had ordered, and killed him,<sup>1</sup> five days<sup>2</sup> after the resurrection of the Saviour.

When this took place the Jewish people became incensed against Pilate and began to say to one another : "Comrades, Barnābān<sup>3</sup> has gone from us and Pilate is left. Come, let us write a report about Pilate from King Herod to the Emperor Tiberius Cæsar, and ask him to kill him for us ; we will give three talents<sup>4</sup> of gold to Herod in order that he may help us to murder him." Many Jews, then, men and women, tore up their clothings, threw ashes on their heads, and repaired to King Herod in Galilee. They began to vociferate, and their clamour reached such a pitch that the town was in a state of commotion. They shouted and said : "How is it that we have no king to-day except Pilate the foreigner, who is from the land of Egypt ?"<sup>5</sup> And they clamoured and said : "He has thwarted and

<sup>1</sup> M. 127 adds here ; "And he went to hell, and an evil journey it is." This last sentence is from *Qur*, ii., 120, etc.

<sup>2</sup> M. 355 "five months."

<sup>3</sup> P. has "Jesus," which seems to be a better text.

<sup>4</sup> A *Ḳinṭār* in terms of gold generally weighs a hundred *raṭls* and is worth one thousand *dinārs* (denarii).

<sup>5</sup> I have not come across a good authority for this statement apart from the Coptic fragments referred to in my note below, p. 254. Crum adds in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* (1927, p. 23), that the Ethiopic translation has

despised the injunctions of the King, changed our habits and customs, and destroyed the laws of our fathers in conjunction with Joseph and Nicodemus. How is it that all power has gone from Herod? We ask your Majesty as our King, to deliver us from him.<sup>1</sup> He has killed Barnābān whom you had ordered to be released from prison on account of his courage and valour in his fight for the King and in his endeavour to defeat the King's enemies. He did all this without consulting the King and on the advice of Joseph and Nicodemus. Now you are competent to judge between us and him and to write and inform the Emperor Cæsar of his affair and of all that he did to us for the sake of Jesus of Nazareth."

Herod became then incensed against Pilate and wrote about him many lying things which he sent to Tiberius Cæsar, and despatched with his report men of high standing among the Jews in order to render his report more effective. It happened that the letters of Herod preceded those of Pilate by one day. The Jews read them to the Emperor with all the slanders and iniquitous testimonies which they contained, and asked him to kill Pilate and his confederates. In the morning the letters of Pilate reached the Emperor,<sup>2</sup> and in them was an account of all the deeds of Jesus, His crucifixion, His death, His resurrection from the dead, the quaking of the earth, the eclipse of the sun, and the destruction of the idols and their falling from their thrones on the day of His crucifixion.

When the Emperor Tiberius read and heard what the Jews had done to the Saviour at His crucifixion, he wept on account of the deep sorrow that he felt; and when he reached the place in which were the names of the heads of the Jews who were the cause of the crucifixion of Jesus, he found that some of them were among those who had come to him in order to vent their grievances about Pilate. He,

*Pilatos Mašarī* (B.M. 690, fol. 99a), "Pilate the Magician," which would simply be a mistranscription of the Arabic *masrī* "the Egyptian." The Melchite Eutychius (in *C.S.C.O.*, i., 91) contends that Pilate was of Italian origin, from an island named *Pontah* and situated near Rome.

<sup>1</sup> This sentence is found in P. only.

<sup>2</sup> That Pilate wrote a report to Tiberius concerning Jesus is suggested by Justin (1 *Ap.* 35), Tertullian (*Ap.* 21), and Eusebius (*H.E.* ii. 2). I cannot decide with certainty if there is any historical value in this suggestion, but the report cannot be the one implied in the present document nor those reports preserved in Greek and Syriac and printed by Tischendorf and Rahmani respectively.



therefore, summoned them before him and said to them : " O chiefs of iniquity, here is the letter of Pilate, and he is testifying against you that it was you who crucified Jesus of Nazareth. I will order now that none of you be left alive in the world on account of your cruel deeds to Jesus. He ordered, therefore, that they should be killed and their bodies be hung on the heights that surmounted the gates of the city. Then he sent a messenger after Pilate and summoned him before him in order that he might tell him the truth concerning the miracles that emanated from the tomb of the Saviour.

When the messenger of the Emperor reached Jerusalem, the chiefs of the Jews assembled and went to Herod, and apprised him of the arrival of the messenger of the Emperor for the purpose of summoning Pilate, Joseph and Nicodemus. They spoke to him out of their spite and jealousy and told him that they would bribe the messenger if he would kill Pilate, but he said to them that he was unable to do so without the sanction of the Emperor. In the morning Herod came to Jerusalem to have a word with Pilate on the affair. When Pilate heard this he went to his wife and said to her : " O my sister Procula,<sup>1</sup> arise and hide in a place on account of what Herod is going to do to me. The mob, the heads of the Jewish people and the messenger of the Emperor have come. I do not know if they have come to take off my head or to torment me for the sake of the Saviour. Arise you, take your children and go out of this town. Watch, however, over my body if they are bent on taking off my head. Give silver to the soldiers and redeem my body from them, shroud it, and place it near the tomb of my Lord Jesus in order that His grace may overtake me. Do this even if you have to give all my possessions for the purpose."

When his wife heard these words she tore up her garments, and began to pluck the hair of her head, saying, " What are these words you are uttering to me, my lord Pilate. Have I not sufficient pain in my heart on account of what you did with Jesus in crucifying Him ? To tell you the truth, O brother, you have comforted my heart to-day in apprising me of your possible death. If God did not spare His only Son but delivered Him up for us,<sup>2</sup> neither I nor you will flee from

<sup>1</sup> This sentence is missing in M. 127 and the previous sentences are somewhat differently worded in the three MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Rom. viii. 32.

death for Him. What utility shall we have from our nation ?<sup>1</sup> O brother, if you love me more than you love Him, it is blameworthy. God knows that we are both of us one body, and as we did not separate from each other in this world, neither we nor our children should be separated the one from the other in the Kingdom of Heaven."

While Procula, the wife of Pilate, was saying this, the troops came and surrounded him and took him to the court of Herod, in the presence of the messenger of the Emperor, who said : " Are you Pilate who said ' There is no hand over my hand ?<sup>2</sup> How did you kill this Jesus without consulting the Emperor ? " Pilate did not give him any answer to this question but only said : " My lord, if these have had so little fear of God as to crucify His beloved Son, I am prepared to die for His holy name, I have faith that if I die for His name I shall possess the eternal life, and you will not impede me from His glory." The Jewish people said then to the messenger of the Emperor : " What is the utility of speaking to him while he insults you in the Coptic language ? "<sup>3</sup>

Immediately after (the envoy of the Emperor) gave orders that he should be stripped of his clothes, that a napkin should be tied round his loins, and that he should be flagellated with a rough whip. Herod incited them to flog him well, and the Jewish people said : " O Pilate all the sufferings you inflicted on Barnābān have now come back on your own head. You prided yourself and said that you were the Governor, and the Emperor. Now no power of any kind remains to you in the city of Jerusalem." Pilate bore with patience this taunt while he was being flogged with the whip, and his innocent blood flowed profusely on the ground before them like flowing water.

Then his wife Procula hastened and came to him and began to urge and encourage him, saying, " O martyr, O my brother Pilate, how I wish to die with the death with which you will die ! " The Jews seized her immediately with her hair and threw her before her

<sup>1</sup> Found only in P.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.*, more powerful than I am.

<sup>3</sup> That Pilate was of Egyptian origin is also the statement of the Coptic fragments edited by Revillout (No. 4) in *Pat. Orient.*, ii., p. 151, seqq. and Robinson, *Copt. Apocryphal Gospels*, p. 176. Cf. James, *Apocr. N.T.*, p. 148. See also my note above p. 251 and Crum in *J.E.A.*, 1927, p. 23.



husband in order to intensify his affront and indignity.<sup>1</sup> The holy Procula, however, was jubilant in her heart and began to say : " O my brother Pilate, the beginning of this first honour that came to me I offer to Christ and to His holy name." <sup>2</sup>

The Jews then said to Pilate : " Know that this punishment which is inflicted on you is not for what you have done to Jesus of Nazareth, but for your murdering of Barnābān." And he replied to them : " Would that I could be found worthy to be crucified with my wife and children for the name of Jesus, and that He could be left alive to me ; but I believe, rather I am sure of the fact, that He is alive and that He has eternal life, which He imparts to all believers in Him." The Jews answered Him and said : " O Pilate, your life is like His life and your lot is similar to His lot." And he said : " Amen. My life is with Him, and His judgment will be on you and your children." <sup>3</sup> The Jews then sprang upon him, and some of them slapped him, some others struck him on the face, and some others insulted him and reviled him saying : " We will not release you until you die on the wood like your God Jesus."

When the messenger of the Emperor noticed the intensity of their hatred against him he took him from their hands and said to them : " The Emperor has not permitted me to do this, nor has he ordered me to torture him and to kill him, until I have brought him before him." The Jews, however, satisfied him with much money and said to him : " Kill him and his affair will not reach the ears of the Emperor." And they asked him to give them permission to drag him in the streets of the town bound with fetters and accompanied by his bare-headed wife ; and this was granted to them. How bitter was the weeping in Jerusalem, when people saw Pilate and his wife with their hands bound with fetters behind their back and dragged in the streets, while the Jews were applauding and saying : " This is like the crucifixion of Jesus of Nazareth ! " When the hirelings were tired of

<sup>1</sup> Sic P., but M. 127 : " in order to insult *her* " and M. 355 : " in order to burn her." A slight graphic error arising in Arabic characters between *Yahkirūha* and *Yahrūkūha*.

<sup>2</sup> Sic P., but M. 127 and M. 355 : " the beginning of your honour offer it to . . . "

<sup>3</sup> Sic P., but M. 127 and M. 355 : " My judgment is on the Jews and their children."

the work of dragging they threw them in prison while still bound with iron fetters, but beaming with joy.

Then the false witnesses and teachers of error sat and wrote many lies about Pilate, saying : " This is Pilate who said, ' There is no hand over my hand and no other king beside me.' This is Pilate who abrogated our prescriptions. This is the one who demolished our synagogues, in which people read the law and the commandments. This is the one who killed the indomitable Barnābān." When they wrote this they began to bring accusations against Joseph and Nicodemus, and they brought them bound with fetters<sup>1</sup> before Herod, as they had done with Pilate. He ordered them to be flogged and their possessions plundered, like Pilate's, and they were so much weakened by scourging and so impoverished that they resembled Job at the time of his poverty.

Then the iniquitous Jews sat and conspired together to burn the tomb of the Saviour on account of the prodigies and miracles that they saw emanating from it, and they asked for the wood of the cross to be burnt likewise. Joseph, however, had taken it and placed it in a hidden place in the sepulchre. The Jews, therefore, brought fire which they kindled round the sepulchre, but it did no harm of any kind to it, nor did it reach it ; and to hide their shame, they hid<sup>2</sup> the entrance of the sepulchre and placed a stone over it in order that no one might penetrate into it. The Jews did all this.

When Pilate and his wife, and Joseph and Nicodemus, were in prison, Herod asked the messenger of the Emperor to empower him to send Joseph and Nicodemus to their own town and to kill them therein, but the messenger of the Emperor did not allow him to do so. Then the Jews asked Herod to secure for them from the messenger of the Emperor a permit which would allow them to crucify Pilate like his Master, and when they bribed him with much money he delivered Pilate to them in order that they might crucify him and kill him.

While they had conspired thus to kill Pilate with his wife and his children, lo, the keepers of the prison came to Pilate shaking and trembling. They began to implore the messenger of the Emperor, saying : " O our lord the Vizier, either do with Pilate what you have

<sup>1</sup> " Bound with fetters " is only found in P.

<sup>2</sup> Or " they sealed."



intended to do with him, or take him away from us.<sup>1</sup> From the time you have ordered him to be imprisoned with his wife, they have not been left alone, but a spiritual man is constantly with them, whose light is more dazzling even than that of the sun. We saw him coming down from Heaven and embracing them, after which the fetters and shackles with which they were bound were torn up, and their iron melted like water from their feet ; further, the column to which they were tied bent down and worshipped that spiritual being, and it is even now in that bent state, inclining to the ground."

Then they asked them and said : "What is the description of that man ?" And they answered : "He is a Galilean by appearance, and his hair is beautiful and flowing in curls round him.<sup>2</sup> He spoke at a great length with Pilate and his wife, and said to him, 'O Pilate, you shall be crucified on the wood of the Cross like me, and they shall place a crown of thorns on your head like me, but they will not be able to kill you here : they will take you to the Emperor Tiberius, before whom you will stand and who will order you to be crucified a second time.' They were also having much intimate conversation with each other."

When the Jews heard these words from the gaolers an intense fear seized them and their hearts palpitated. They began to say to one another : "Even if they kill us and kill our children we will kill and crucify Pilate." Then Herod enjoined the gaolers not to repeat these words before anybody else until Pilate was killed. When Pilate heard these words he was greatly pleased.

Meanwhile the Jews advanced much silver to the messenger of the Emperor—and it amounted to such a quantity that it carried conviction, and he allowed them to crucify him. Then they rushed like mad dogs to the gaol in order to take him out and crucify him.<sup>3</sup> When they entered the gaol they found him smiling and joyful, while the fetters were loosed from him and from his wife, and the column was leaning towards the ground like a tree bent by the force of the wind.

The Jews took then Pilate and his wife and brought them to the open court. They stripped him of his garments, tied a napkin round his waist to cover his nudity, and began to march them through all the

<sup>1</sup> P., "Do not take him from us."

<sup>2</sup> M. 127, "He is Jesus of Nazareth."

<sup>3</sup> All these sentences are only found in P.

city until they reached the spot where they had crucified the two malefactors, and they crucified him there.

God, however, who is full of mercy, inculcated forgetfulness into the mind of the Jews so that none of them stretched an evil hand towards the wife of Pilate. Indeed, she was standing near him urging and encouraging him, saying: "O my brother Pilate, remember the One who comforted you and came to you in this very night. Endure and bear your tribulations for His name." And when they were intending to lift him on the cross, they remembered the Cross of the Saviour, and for this they immediately opened the sepulchre and took the wood of the cross and crucified Pilate on it. They fastened him tightly on it with nails, placed on his head a crown of thorns, arrayed him in a purple garment,<sup>1</sup> and began to pierce his side with a spear while shouting and saying: "O Pilate, disciple of Jesus of Nazareth, if your Master has risen from the dead come down from the cross, and we will believe in Him."<sup>2</sup>

The blessed Pilate began to pray while hanging on the cross, and said: "O my Lord, I have polluted your holy cross by the hanging of my body on it, because it is a pure wood and my body is an impure body; your blood is an innocent blood, and my blood<sup>3</sup> is carnal. I do not weep now, O my Lord, because I have been crucified for your name, but I weep because I have defiled and polluted your holy cross. I do not sigh, O my Lord, for help, but I shed tears because you have borne all these sufferings for us sinners. I do not weep, O my Lord, because they have crucified me.<sup>4</sup> Have pity on me, your sinning servant, who has been lifted up on your holy cross, as I am not worthy of all these benefits. I do not sigh because of my nudity, but I weep for your deep humility and self-effacement.<sup>5</sup> Now I ask you, O my Lord Jesus Christ, not in my own name, but for the glory of your Majesty and the honour of your Cross, to grant rest<sup>6</sup> and a happy lot

<sup>1</sup> Cf. John xix. 2-5. Note how the author is at some pains here and elsewhere to reproduce in the case of Pilate all the incidents of the Passion of Christ.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Matt. xxvii. 43.

<sup>3</sup> I follow V. 199. The three other MSS. have "body" for "blood."

<sup>4</sup> The preceding sentences are only found in P.

<sup>5</sup> In the above sentences I have taken the best wording represented by the three MSS.

<sup>6</sup> Syr. *niyāha*.



to my poor soul. Grant rest to me, your servant Pilate, to your maidservant Procula, and to my children, in the day in which you will come to judge the world."<sup>1</sup>

This is what Pilate said, and his God-loving wife Procula approached him, kissed his legs while he was hanging on the wood of the cross, and said : " Why are you weeping on the wood of the Cross ? You are ahead of us in sitting before the throne of the Judge. You are ahead of us in lighting your lamp at the wedding of your Lord Jesus Christ. You are ahead of us, O my brother Pilate, in lying in the banquet of a thousand years.<sup>2</sup> You are ahead of us in wearing the diadem of the king in the dignified law court of Judgment. Blessed are you, O Pilate, for having been lifted up on the wood of the cross, and this lifting will make you worthy of sitting in the Kingdom of Heaven."

This is what the blessed Procula said under the cross, while all eyes were gazing at her. She further said : " You have preceded us and sat before the throne of judgment. Now you have lit your lamps in the wedding of your Master." And the Jews began to rail and scoff at her and at Pilate. Then two crowns came down from Heaven, equal to each other in glory and majesty, and a voice from Heaven was heard saying : " Know, O Pilate and Procula, that you will be crowned with these two crowns that came down to you from Heaven, because of the sufferings you have borne for your God and your great faith in Him." Then the two crowns disappeared and went up to Heaven.

When the multitudes noticed this miracle, they hastened and brought down Pilate from the cross alive, then they heated water for him and washed his body with it, after which they put on him his garments, and brought him and his wife Procula to the messenger of the Emperor and said : " If the Emperor has sent you to destroy this city, listen to the cruel Herod.<sup>3</sup> You do not know his great cunning

<sup>1</sup> P. " Give her (my wife) rest and comfort in the day in which she shall come to you."

<sup>2</sup> The author seems to have a tendency to a millenium. The sentence is only found in P.

<sup>3</sup> The author apparently identifies this Herod with Herod Antipas, who was the son of Herod the Great by Malthace (Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xvii. i. 3), and who ordered the death of John the Baptist (Josephus, *Ant.*, xviii. v. 2). In another passage below, p. 265, the author appears to identify this

and machinations. He became jealous of his brother, took his wife Herodia from him and killed him with hunger and thirst, through the hatred and cruelty that are in him. Do you not see what he did in the city in these days? He killed a just man because of his own sympathy with the Jews and God wishes to destroy us all because of him. What advantage will ever come to Jerusalem if you allowed Pilate, its Governor, to be murdered in it. Truth to tell it is Herod that deserves death instead of Pilate. If the Emperor was aware of the deeds of Herod he would not have empowered him to rule over this city and torment Pilate and his wife.<sup>1</sup> After all the affairs of the city are in the hands of the Emperor, and Herod has neither a word to say in the matter, nor power and jurisdiction of any kind over us."

When the Vizier heard these words from the multitude he was pleased with them, and he released Pilate until he had brought his case before the Emperor. Now the Emperor had an only son whom he loved tenderly more than all his kingdom. It happened that the boy went into a bath to wash,<sup>2</sup> and an evil spirit entered there into him, strangled him and threw him to the ground dead. His father and mother came then to him with intense grief, in order to take him and bury him, and they buried him near them and wailed and wept over him night and day for three complete months. One day when the Emperor was sitting wailing and weeping over the loss of his son, his wife came down to him, bowed before him and said to him: "O my lord, we have had much sorrow and our bereavement has affected our brain." And the Emperor said to her: "And how has our brain been affected?" And she replied to him and said: "O my lord, I recalled that some time ago the inhabitants of Jerusalem sent to you a letter concerning a certain Jesus of Nazareth<sup>3</sup> whom the Jews had crucified, and they reported that He had raised dead men while He was alive. And Pilate also, the Governor of the town, wrote to you a letter in which he registered the miracles and prodigies which

Herod with Herod Agrippa i. In the "New Life of John the Baptist" which I edited and translated in vol. i. of the *Woodbrooke Studies* (p. 251), Herod Antipas is said to have died of a sudden stroke.

<sup>1</sup> M. 127 has no reference to the wife.

<sup>2</sup> M. 127, "to swim."

<sup>3</sup> P. "the prophet."



He had wrought. He told us that He had raised up the dead, healed the cripples<sup>1</sup> and the sick, opened the eyes of the blind and the ears of the deaf. He further added that many miracles and prodigies were taking place even now at His tomb. This is the reason why I said that we have been stupid, that we have been struck with forgetfulness and our brain has been affected. Indeed, if we had sent our son, when he died, to His tomb, he would have been alive now."

When the Emperor heard these words he rose from his forgetfulness and remained for a long time in a state of confusion, meditating over the words of his wife. Then he immediately summoned his faithful servants<sup>2</sup> and enjoined them to fill vessels with gifts to be sent to Jerusalem. He also despatched brave and courageous men to the tomb of his son, which they opened and from which they took the coffin that contained the body and brought it to the father. When he saw that all the flesh of his limbs had suffered putrefaction and disappeared and that nothing was left from his body but the bones, he and his wife wept bitterly for a long time. Then he took ink, pen and papyrus,<sup>3</sup> and wrote as follows :—

"Tiberius the Emperor of the earth and the servant of the King of Heaven asks you and implores your love, O my Lord Jesus Christ, whom I do not know at all, whom I did not perceive, and to whom I have never had the honour and the worth to speak. A man named Pilate bore witness to the miracles which you wrought, and reported that you rose from the dead, and I believed his words ; he told me that you gave sight to the blind, and I believed this about you ; he mentioned to me that you made wine out of water, and I did not doubt it from you ; he wrote also to me that you raised from the dead a man called Lazarus four days after he had died, and I became convinced in my mind that you had done it. He also testified and said that the miracles which you wrought, the tomb in which your body is laid was also working them. I believed in you and was convinced that you are the Son of God. As you are in heaven so also you are on the earth and in the tomb. Now, O my Lord, have pity on the weakness of your servant Tiberius ; remember him with your

<sup>1</sup> M. 127, "those possessed by demons."

<sup>2</sup> M. 127, "his agent," P. "the agents of his property."

<sup>3</sup> *Kirtās* means also "parchment."

grace, and have mercy on the wretchedness of Cæsar, my son and your servant, whom I have sent to your tomb. Grant him life, O my Lord and my God.<sup>1</sup> I heard that you were the resurrection and the life<sup>2</sup> to all the dead from Adam till now. I believed that you have suffered pains in order to deliver the sons of men from the hands of the enemy. If you will, let your grace overtake me.<sup>3</sup> Amen."

After the Emperor had written this letter he sealed and sent it to his messenger in Jerusalem. He also said to his faithful servants: <sup>4</sup> "Inform yourselves about the tomb of Jesus whom the Jews have crucified, in which they placed His body and from which He rose the third day, and lay the body of my son in it. I have faith that my son whom I am sending dead in a coffin to Jerusalem will come back to me alive." And they departed and reached Jerusalem with the letter of the Emperor and the dead body of his son, accompanied by thousands of attendants, female servants and male servants; and they went to Herod and to the messenger of the Emperor.

At that time Pilate and his wife were in prison. In the night the Lord Jesus Christ appeared to them a second time and said to Pilate: "Peace be with you, O Pilate! Peace be with you, you whose name was the first to be pronounced by the Father's mouth of life.<sup>5</sup> It is inevitable that you should be judged in the court of the Emperor Tiberius.<sup>6</sup> Now is the word of the Father fulfilled, because I stood before you and you sat and judged me. Be not grieved, O Pilate, because they have crucified you for me, since this has saved you from your sin and from the act of your scoffing at me. You have been flagellated, O Pilate, in order that you might be redeemed of the sin of my flagellation, which you ordered. Your blood has been shed, O Pilate, in order that you might be purified from the sin of the shedding of my blood. You have been lifted up on the wood of the

<sup>1</sup> M. 355 and P. add: "And raise him up from the dead in order that I may believe in you and in your miracles."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. John xi. 25.

<sup>3</sup> P. adds: "To you is glory due with your good Father and the Holy Spirit forever and ever," and M. 127 is here: "Have pity on me with your grace, O most merciful of the merciful." This last expression is from the Kur'ân (Surah vii., verse 150).

<sup>4</sup> Here as above M. 127 "his agent," P. however; "his soldiers."

<sup>5</sup> Or "by the mouth of life, the Father." M 127 omits these sentences altogether.

<sup>6</sup> M. 355 and P: "of a man called Pilate."



cross, O Pilate, in order that you might be saved from the sin of your saying to (the Jews) 'Take ye Him and crucify Him.'<sup>1</sup> They have stripped you of your garments, O Pilate, in order that you might be absolved from the sin of the stripping of my garments. They have placed a crown of thorns on your head, O Pilate, in order that you might be saved from the punishment of the crown of thorns that your soldiers placed on my head. You have been dragged in the streets of the town, O Pilate, in order that you might be saved from the sin of my carrying of the cross which you ordered while in the seat of judgment. Everything that has happened to you is for the sole reason that you may be saved from the sin of my death.

"As to your God-loving wife Procula, tell her not to grieve at the fact that they took her bare-headed, as my own mother Mary was rendered bare-headed in the town of Jerusalem on the day of my death. All the inhabitants of the earth with their offerings and sacrifices are not worth to me a single hair of my mother's head. O Pilate, tell your wife Procula not to grieve at the fact that they took her out of her palace and the inhabitants of the town saw her bare-headed, as Mary, my mother, took me also from country to country and from town to town and experienced the pains of expatriation."<sup>2</sup>

"O Pilate, as your wife Procula comforted you with her words at the time of your crucifixion, so my beloved mother comforted me with her words while I was hanging on the wood of the cross and said to me: 'I convey you peace, O my beloved Son, and light of my eyes.'<sup>3</sup> Now, O Pilate, do not be afraid because it is inevitable

<sup>1</sup> John xix. 6.

<sup>2</sup> P. adds: "and of the desert of the mountain of Kuskam." This Kuskam is the place in which the holy family took refuge at the time of the flight of Christ from Herod, according to the Syriac vision of Theophilus, Patriarch of Alexandria. See Mingana, *Syr.* 5 ff. 1-18b and Mingana, *Syr.* 39 ff. 56b-70b, and cf. my note in *Woodbrooke Studies*, vol. i., p. 255. See also *R.O.C.*, xv., 128-132. The place was afterwards called *Muharrak*, and in due course a church was built in it to commemorate the event. See *Pat. Orient.* iii., 255. The place is also referred to in Ethiopic literature: "Joseph rose up and took our holy Lady, the Virgin Mary, and came unto the country of Egypt and went to Mount Kues Kuām." Budge's *One Hundred and Ten Miracles of Our Lady Mary*, p. 145. Kuskam is the modern Kus about sixteen miles north of Luxor, but some authorities place it near the Red Sea.

<sup>3</sup> The last clause is found in P. only.

that you should enter into another fight for me near Tiberius Cæsar, and here is a sign for you to this effect : Cæsar, the son of the Emperor, has arrived here. His father sent him here dead, out of his great faith. They will soon summon you and deliver you from prison, take him to the tomb in which my body was laid, and as I gave life to Lazarus and to the son of the widow in the town of Nain, so I will give life to this boy because of his father's faith. Grow cheerful, O Pilate, and fight for my resurrection."

The Saviour spoke these words to Pilate and disappeared from his sight. When they brought the son of the Emperor, and the vizier saw that he was dead and that he was accompanied by a considerable army of soldiers, he and all the town of Jerusalem were frightened, because they believed that he had died on the way. They were terrified lest the Emperor should order the town to be burnt and its inhabitants destroyed, but when they perused the letter of the Emperor they were struck by the depth of his humility and the greatness of his faith and were much astonished.

When Herod and the Jewish community heard this news they feared that the son of the Emperor should rise and live again, and they conspired with the guards who were keeping watch over the body of the son of the Emperor, and gave them much gold and silver in order that they might allow them to take his body stealthily and hide it ; and the wicked community accomplished what they had conceived.<sup>1</sup>

When Pilate was freed from prison for the sake of placing the body of the son of the Emperor in the tomb of the Saviour, in company with Joseph and Nicodemus, a Jew came by stealth in the darkness of the night and stole the body of the son of the Emperor from the coffin, at the command of Herod and of the priests. In the morning when they sought the body of the son of the Emperor and did not find it, all the city was thrown into confusion, and the heads of the Jews assembled and went to the messenger of the Emperor and told him that no one could have done this but Pilate, Joseph and Nicodemus.

When the vizier heard these words he took Joseph and Nicodemus and scourged them, but no one laid harmful hands on Pilate, because, the people who had witnessed his crucifixion had

<sup>1</sup> This last clause is only found in P.



noticed the crowns that had come down from heaven for him and his wife. While Joseph and Nicodemus were bound with fetters and in the power of Herod, Gabriel the head of the angels, came down from heaven and extended his wings over them, and all the place shone with light, and he began to speak to them saying : "I am the angel Gabriel who took the head of John away from the wicked Herod, the father of the present iniquitous king, and proclaimed his sin in all the world ;<sup>1</sup> I will now destroy this wicked Herod, and he will die of the pains and hunger which he will experience, and vermin will breed in his body like his father."<sup>2</sup> As to you, O Joseph and Nicodemus, here is what the Lord says : 'Your sufferings resemble my sufferings ; you became martyrs, and I, too, was a martyr.' It is I who delivered you from destruction at the hands of the wicked ones, and it is I who enjoined the cloud to remove you, and delivered you from their hands. It is, however, imperative, that you should stand before the Emperor. As to the body of the son of the Emperor which the heads of the Jews have concealed in order that the glory of the Christ might not be made manifest, I shall disclose its hiding-place and bring it before the people."

This is what the angel Gabriel told the venerable chiefs Joseph and Nicodemus. And these two blessed ones sent for me, in secret, me Gamaliel, and narrated to me what the angel had spoken to them, because, I the weak Gamaliel, was the disciple of these blessed ones.<sup>3</sup> When I left them I noticed a great commotion in the town where people were saying to one another that the coffin containing the body of the son of the Emperor had been discovered in a Jewish house, and that the reason for stealing the body was to inculcate Pilate and discredit the resurrection of our Lord. The news spread in all the town that Herod and the High Priests of the Jews had connived and stolen the body of the son of the Emperor.

<sup>1</sup> See my edition and translation of *A New Life of John the Baptist* in vol. i. of *Woodbooke Studies*, p. 245 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., Acts. xii. 23. It appears from this that the author identifies this Herod with Herod Agrippa who died in A.D. 44 (Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xix. viii. 2) and who was the son of Aristobulus, son of Herod the Great by Mariamme, granddaughter of Hyrcanus. There is some confusion in the author's mind concerning the dynasty of the Herods. He had apparently identified him with Herod Antipas.

<sup>3</sup> M. 127 has instead : "And I comforted them and strengthened them."

In the meantime the archangel Gabriel removed the body of the son of the Emperor from the place in which it was hidden, and brought it and placed it before the vizier, and disappeared. At that very moment the vizier was incensed against Herod, and he threw an arrow at him, which caused him much pain. His body bred worms, and he died from the intensity of his pain.<sup>1</sup> As to the Jews who had hidden the body of the son of the Emperor, their houses were burnt together with their sons and daughters, and in this way they died an ignominious death, more ignominious than that of all men.

The vizier took then Joseph and Nicodemus from prison and handed to them the body of the son of the Emperor and his coffin ; he handed also to them<sup>2</sup> the letter of the Emperor, and they read it and were amazed at his wisdom, his deep humility and great faith. Then they lifted their eyes to heaven and said : " O Lord our God, O resurrection of the living and the dead, make manifest your power in the son of the Emperor Tiberius and accept the supplications of his father and have pity on him as you had pity on the son of the widow in the town of Nain. With your great power raise his son alive in order that he may glorify your holy name. Accept, O Lord, the strong faith of his father as you accepted the strong faith of Mary and Martha and raised for them their brother Lazarus. Have pity on him, O Lord Jesus Christ, and comfort the heart of the father by the resurrection of the son ; give him life, and let your holy sepulchre make him live again, in order that his faith in you may be strengthened like the rest, and in order that he may ascertain your resurrection from the dead."

The blessed ones spoke these words over the coffin of the son of the Emperor while dead ; then they took him and placed him in the tomb of the Saviour, and adjusted the stone to the door of the tomb. And the son of the Emperor remained four days in the tomb with a closed door, and they experienced deep sorrow at his long stay in the tomb and at his not having risen quickly. On the fourth day, however, he rose from the dead, the stone that was at the door of the tomb rolled away backwards, and the guards, terrified at the sight, went in haste to Pilate and began shouting and saying : " Come, our lord Pilate, and

<sup>1</sup> M. 127 adds here : " And he went to hell, and an evil journey is it ! " This last sentence is from Kur'an, ii. 120, etc.

<sup>2</sup> M. 127 adds also : " to Pilate."



see how the son of the Emperor, who was in the tomb of Jesus, has risen, and how the stone rolled away without the help of a human hand."

Pilate then bowed himself to the ground, together with Joseph and Nicodemus, and worshipped in great joy ; then they all of them with the vizier of the Emperor and all the army repaired to the tomb of the Saviour, and they observed that Cæsar, the son of the Emperor, had risen and was sitting over<sup>1</sup> the coffin in which his body lay. He appeared bewildered with eyes fixed on the royal garment which he was wearing. They cried to him, saying : "O Cæsar, come out with the power of the One who raised you. Let our joy be perfect in this day as in the day in which our Saviour rose from the dead." At that very moment he jumped and came out of the tomb and sat on the stone. Then the vizier of his father approached him, bowed down and worshipped before him and said to him : "O my lord, what happened to you and why are you in a state of stupefaction ?" And he answered saying :—

"I am bewildered at the greatness of the glory, kingdom and power of my Lord Jesus who raised me from the dead, and I do not see the like of Him in any one of the men that are standing here,<sup>2</sup> nor do I see in them anything like His Majesty. His glory and His Majesty are indeed great. What is the honour of my father in comparison with this King ? This is the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords. What is the diadem of my father in comparison with His glory and the light of His Cross ? What are the sweet scents of my father in comparison with the sublime perfume that exhales from this Jesus ?<sup>3</sup> All the rulers of the earth cannot live after their death, but this powerful ruler, Jesus, has the power to do it. No one fears any king after he dies, but this Jesus, King of Kings, all angels, human beings and demons fear His name, and the doors of hell tremble from their dread of Him. All the tormenting spirits who take the souls of the wicked ones, and who are more wicked than the beasts of prey, dragons and vipers, I saw that they were terrified when a voice came to them, saying : 'Jesus orders you to take up this soul from amongst you, because He wants it.' They did not see Him, but only heard the one who pronounced His name.

<sup>1</sup> M. 355 : "in."

<sup>2</sup> P. "In all the world."

<sup>3</sup> There are here some discrepancies in the MSS.

"I was then taken forthwith out of the torments in which I was lying, and He called me by my name saying : "O Cæsar, rise up ; I have given you to your parents on account of their faith in Me, and in order that they might fight for My resurrection." Then He placed His cross on the coffin in which I was lying, and my bones adhered to one another, and my soul recognised its body. When my soul was united to my body I experienced a great joy, but fear overtook me after that lest He should deliver me again to them."

This is what the son of the Emperor said while sitting on the stone that was placed on the tomb of the Saviour. Then he asked those who were standing near him, saying : "What is the name of this town ?" And they answered him : "Jerusalem."<sup>1</sup> Then he inquired about his father and mother, and they informed him that they were alive and that they were in the Capital of the Empire. After this Pilate, Joseph and Nicodemus cried and said : Honour and glory be to you, O our Lord Jesus Christ, You who have revived dead bones and given life to those who love You !"

When the vizier noticed what had taken place, he went to a dung-heap and began to throw earth and ashes on his head in sign of the deep sorrow that he felt at his treatment of Pilate and his wife. Then he kissed the head of Pilate and asked forgiveness from him and his companions, and wept bitterly on the tomb of the Saviour on account of the magnitude of the miracle that had taken place in the person of the dead man who was now standing alive. Immediately after the vizier began to write a report to the Emperor, and informed him that his son who was dead was now speaking to him, and announced to him the great joy of the resuscitation of his son Cæsar, and his resurrection from the dead. Then the vizier handed also papyrus<sup>2</sup> to his master, the son of the Emperor, and asked him to write himself to his father, in his own handwriting. And he wrote as follows :

"I Cæsar, son of the Emperor Tiberius, was dead like the rest of mankind, and my body was decomposed and became earth in the grave, in which it lay for three months. The greatness of your faith sent me to Jerusalem hoping that I will rise from the dead by the power of the Lord Jesus Christ. I have now risen from the dead.<sup>3</sup> My eyes saw the Lord Jesus in the flesh which He took from the

<sup>1</sup> P. adds "the Holy City."

<sup>2</sup> Or parchment.

<sup>3</sup> This sentence is missing in M. 127.



Virgin Mary, and He is in an ineffable and indescribable glory. He called me by my name, saying, 'O Cæsar, arise now and stand up alive, and become the beginning of the resurrection of the dead.'<sup>1</sup> He then took me out of the hand of death, and His voice gave life to my body. He bestowed on you this great gift of my life, O my father, because of your great confidence and faith in Him, and He has raised me in order that you might increase in the glorification of His Majesty. I greet you,<sup>2</sup> O Emperor, my father. My hand which had suffered putrefaction in the grave and the fingers of which had dissolved into earth, is writing to you this greeting."<sup>3</sup>

The letter was handed to a courier who preceded Cæsar to his father, and announced the great joy to him. When the missive reached the Emperor he read it, and when he reached in it the passage in which it was said,<sup>4</sup> "your son who was dead is writing this to you with his own hand, and the Omnipotent Lord raised me from the dead in Jerusalem," he was immediately bewildered and confused, like Jacob when he received the intelligence that his son was alive; and he began to say to himself, "Is it possible that my son is alive? Is this news true?" Then he went to his wife and read to her the letter of her son Cæsar in which it was written that Jesus raised him from the dead.

The Queen threw then from her the dignity of the wives of the kings, when she heard that her son was alive, and became like a lioness. They called the courier who carried the letter and they said to him: "Be careful to speak the truth, and to tell us the story of our son exactly as it happened. Life or death are placed before you as the result of your words. If we see the face of our son another time, we will crown you with the crown of the kingdom and give you much money, but if we do not see the face of our son, your only reward with us will be sword and death. Go now to prison until we see the outcome of your words."

The Emperor did not neglect the affair of his son, but despatched immediately other couriers to ascertain whether what had been said concerning his son was true or not. The couriers of the Emperor

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Colos. i. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. "I convey you peace."

<sup>3</sup> P. adds: "And the report to your paternity. Be in good health in the Lord. Amen."

<sup>4</sup> This clause is missing in M. 127.

took the way to Jerusalem and found out that the son of the Emperor and his army were coming to the Emperor. The couriers of the Emperor delivered then to Cæsar the letter of his father Tiberius. Astonished at what they saw they proceeded to the Capital which they reached one day before the entry of the son of the Emperor, and early next morning the son of the Emperor arrived.

Who would describe the great joy and the sublime spectacle of that day ! When the Emperor heard of the presence of his son he went out to meet him with so much haste that all the town was in a state of commotion,<sup>1</sup> especially when its inhabitants noticed the Emperor walking on his feet to go to his son, and exultant with joy because he was going to meet him. When he saw his face he began to cry, and weep from joy, saying : "Glory be to you, O Jesus of Nazareth, O God of earth and heaven, who vivified the bones that had suffered dissolution. Your grace overtook me to-day, because you raised my son from the dead. I am to-day as if I had seen the Lord Jesus, and although I shall confess and believe every day in you and in your great power, to-day the belief of my heart is more intense.

"The resurrection of Lazarus from the dead in Bethany, four days after his death, was not so wonderful, O my Lord, because you were with him on the earth ; the great wonder is that you raised my son, Cæsar, three months after his death. This miracle is also greater than that you wrought for the son of the widow in the town of Nain, because you were before the bier and you raised him before his descent into the grave. The grace that you have granted me, O my Lord, is greater than that which you granted to Jacob when he was told that his son Joseph was alive, and he went to him and saw him. My son remained three months in the grave and by your power you raised him from the dead."

This is what the Emperor said with a heart brimming with joy, while embracing his risen son. Then he said to his son : "O Cæsar, my son, I am as joyful to-day as if I had seen the Saviour rising from the dead and raising my son for me.<sup>2</sup> The miracles which I heard He was working, I see them to-day with my own eyes." Then the

<sup>1</sup> This sentence is only found in P.

<sup>2</sup> M. 127 has : "This is what the Emperor said concerning the resurrection of his son."



father ordered that his son should ride in a litter,<sup>1</sup> and he cried saying : "O our Lord Jesus Christ Who was crucified, Who rose from the dead and raised my son for me !" How great was the joy of the town when they saw that the one who was dead had risen from the dead after a death of three months ! There was also much singing and jubilation before and after him while he was riding.

Then Cæsar began to narrate to his father and mother all what he had seen and all that Jesus—to Whom be glory—had done to him. He told them about Hell and the torments he saw in it. Then his father asked him and said : "Tell me about the physical characteristics, features and image of this man." And he said to him :<sup>2</sup> "Father, what is your glory in comparison with that of this great King. There is no likeness of His glory in all the world, and nothing like the resplendence of the diadem of His Kingdom. His speech is life and His rancour is wrath.<sup>3</sup> The light of the sun cannot reach the brightness of His splendour, and the dignity of His garment is not to be found with any other king of the earth. His throne is a burning fire, and His cross is the light and the brightness of His majesty, which transcends the majesty of all the terrestrial beings. I, O father, did not see Him before His crucifixion to know His portraiture and His features, but summon Pilate, the Governor of Jerusalem, and he will inform you of His physical characteristics, features and image."

And the Emperor immediately summoned Pilate who was presented to him, and he asked him : "Are you the Governor Pilate who crucified Jesus ?" And he replied : "Yes, it is I your servant who stands before you. As to the crucifixion of Jesus, our living God, the Jews did not listen to my words on the matter, and it is Annas and Caiaphas who decided judicially on His crucifixion." And the Emperor Tiberius said : "You saw all the miracles and prodigies which He wrought, and I have been informed that at the time of His crucifixion you were sitting and judging His case. Now describe to me His image, His portraiture, His picture, His majesty, and His beauty." And Pilate said to him : "I bear witness before

<sup>1</sup> M. 127 adds : "Preceded by thousands and thousands of marching soldiers."

<sup>2</sup> M. 127 omits all the following description.

<sup>3</sup> Rather unseemly.

you, O Emperor, my lord, that He has been three times,<sup>1</sup> in my court, and I did not ascertain His portraiture and His characteristics : once I saw that He was of the colour of fire,<sup>2</sup> and once I saw Him like a bird flying to the heights of Heaven and the angels speaking to Him ;<sup>3</sup> but your maidservant, my wife, and my children saw Him in their dream, and warned me against stretching a harmful hand towards Him. O my lord, by your life, I gave my two children to the Jews on His behalf in order that they might not crucify Him, and in order that they might release Him until I had brought His case before my lord the Emperor, but they did not listen to my words ; they released a robber from prison and murder, and they took and crucified Jesus. Let it be known, however, to you, O my lord, that He did this out of His own freewill."

And the Emperor Tiberius said to him : "Tell me from where He is and from what place He comes, and how and when He came down from Heaven so that the Jews found Him, seized Him, crucified Him, and murdered Him."<sup>4</sup> And Pilate said to him : "They testified to me that His mother is a virgin, chaste and pure, that He was born of her without breaking her virginal seals, and that her name is Mary. The angel of the Lord came down from heaven and announced to her that she will conceive from the Holy Spirit and bring forth a Son whose name shall be called Emmanuel." And the Emperor said to him : "And how long did He remain on the earth ?" And Pilate answered : "Thirty years."

And the Emperor said to him : "And in all this length of time you saw this man, noticed the miracles and the prodigies that He was performing, and you did not inform me of His affair." And Pilate replied to him : "By your life, O my lord the Emperor, in all this length of time I did not see Him nor did I perceive His face except on the day of the crucifixion, when the Jews brought Him to me and crucified Him." And Tiberius said to him : "You have acted high-handedly, and have not informed me of His affair."<sup>5</sup> They

M. 127 "three days."

<sup>2</sup> M. 127 omits this sentence.

<sup>3</sup> P. adds : "And worshipping Him."

<sup>4</sup> The answer is given succinctly in M. 127 as follows : "And he narrated to him His descent from heaven, His dwelling in a virgin, and His thirty years stay on the earth."

<sup>5</sup> M. 355 adds here : "You ate and drank with Him." M. 127 omits all this question of the Emperor.



delivered Him to you, and you did not remember His miracles and prodigies, and you did not feel awestruck in His presence, and the glory of His divinity did not frighten you. I will now kill you and do to you what you did to Him."

The Emperor Tiberius spoke thus and immediately after the soldiers seized Pilate and took him out in order to cut off his head, but the Emperor ordered that he should be crucified another time before he was beheaded. And they crucified him outside the city, struck him on the head with a reed-stick, and nailed him to the wood, pierced his side with a spear, tormented him with grievous torments and after that proceeded to cut off his head.<sup>1</sup> And the blessed Pilate asked the soldiers to give him<sup>2</sup> a little respite so that he might pray. And he immediately knelt down and began to pray, saying :

"O my Lord Jesus Christ who took away all the sins of the world,<sup>3</sup> have pity on your servant Pilate and forgive all my stumblings, omissions and sins. Guard my poor soul and deliver it from torments.<sup>4</sup> I beseech you, O my Lord and my God, do not separate my soul from that of your maidservant Procula, but make her worthy to be with me in the place of rest.<sup>5</sup> Do not forget your servants, my children, because while I was in the world, O Lord, I delivered them to death for your sake as a ransom for your crucifixion, but the Jews refused them. Do not let the tribulations of Pilate be in vain. I have indeed dared to judge you, O just Judge, but do not rebuke me for this sin which I have committed, because you are a merciful and compassionate God, and I am a created being, and I dared to say to you 'Who are You?'<sup>6</sup> I implore you, O my Lord, not to put me to shame and not to rebuke me because I caused you to bear your cross and said to the Jews : 'Take ye Him and crucify Him.'<sup>7</sup> And they did all this while I was in the seat of judgment.<sup>8</sup> O my Lord, my God, and my Saviour, I beseech you not to remove me from your glory but to grant me your mercy. To you be glory and honour for ever. Amen."

<sup>1</sup> M. 127 omits all the above sentences.

<sup>2</sup> M. 355 adds here : "to take him down from the cross."

<sup>3</sup> Cf. John i. 29.

<sup>4</sup> P. and M. 355 : "from the route which it is following."

<sup>5</sup> Syr. *niyāha*.

<sup>6</sup> M. 127 : "From where are you?"

<sup>7</sup> John xix. 6.

<sup>8</sup> M. 127 omits all the above sentences.

Pilate uttered these words while kneeling on the ground. And I, Gamaliel was not able to restrain my tears when I saw the weeping of the blessed Pilate when he began to implore the soldiers to deliver his body to his servants after they had cut off his head. Then he turned and noticed one of his servants, Basilius<sup>1</sup> with a number of friends, all weeping, and he said to them:<sup>2</sup> "Do not weep over my death, because my Lord has tasted death for us. When you see that they have cut off my head, I want you to shroud my body well, to bring it to Jerusalem and there dig a grave for me near the tomb of Jesus, my Lord and my Saviour, in order that He may have pity on me."<sup>3</sup>

After Pilate had said this they cut off his head on the fifteenth of the month of June.<sup>4</sup> Then we<sup>5</sup> got hold of his body, shrouded it and took it to Jerusalem, as he had wished. When we reached the town we found that his wife Procula and her two children had died<sup>6</sup> on the very day of our arrival, and we placed them all in one grave near the sepulchre of the Redeemer.

As to the Jews, the Emperor Tiberius sent orders to Jerusalem and had them all killed. He also sought Herod to slay him, but he was informed that he had died before Pilate.<sup>7</sup>

After this the wife of the Emperor Tiberius spoke to her husband and said to him: "O my lord Emperor, you knew and saw<sup>8</sup> what

<sup>1</sup> P. "one of his servants and *Phasilius*, his majordomo." M. 127 omits this sentence altogether.

<sup>2</sup> M. 127, "and this is what Pilate said to his relatives and his friends."

<sup>3</sup> There are differences in the MSS. in the wording of this sentence. I followed M. 127 in my translation.

<sup>4</sup> Syrian month *hezirān* (old style). M. 355 and P. use here the Coptic month *Bawūnah*. There are many discrepancies here in the wording of the three MSS. I followed M. 127 which has the shortest text. The Copts honour Pilate and his wife on June 25 (new style). Cf. G. A. Müller, *Pontius Pilatus der fünfte Prokurator*, p. 7.

<sup>5</sup> M. 127 and P. use for all these verbs the 3rd pers. plur.

<sup>6</sup> M. 355, and P. use here *tanayyahu* from the Syr. *ittniḥ*.

<sup>7</sup> M. 127 ends here with the colophon by Gamaliel, which comes later, and the following colophon: "This book is finished in 1994 of the Greeks, on a Friday, 13th October, in the time of our Fathers: Patriarch 'Abdal-Masih, and Mar Basil Maphrian of the East, and Mar Gregory the servant of the See of the Holy City. It was copied by the hand of the weakest of men, Joseph, a priest by name but a sinner by works." I give in the following pages the continuation of the story as found in M. 355 and P.

<sup>8</sup> P. "knew and I saw."



the Saviour Jesus did in resuscitating to us our son from the dead, and we, O my lord Emperor, feel much sorrow because we did not see Him, and because we were unworthy of perceiving Him. The Jews killed Him unjustly and you killed the Governor who empowered them to kill Him.<sup>1</sup> If it pleases you, O my lord Emperor, we will send for His mother in order that we may see her, because it has come to our knowledge that she is living at this moment in Jerusalem, the city of the Jews. We will take her before us and crown her with the crown of the kingdom and send her back to her country in order that all may honour her, and in order that no wicked Jew may stretch a harmful hand towards her, as they did with her son." When the Emperor heard these words from his wife they pleased him, and he despatched many soldiers, female attendants, and palace officials to Jerusalem in order to bring the Virgin Mary to them so that they might crown her with the crown of the kingdom.

Before this, our Saviour, King of Kings, appeared to His mother and to the Apostles, His elect, and He disclosed to them many secrets, and informed them that the Emperor Tiberius had sent for the Virgin Mary. Then after having laid upon John to repair to the Emperor Tiberius,<sup>2</sup> He turned to Mary, His mother, and said to her : "O my beloved mother, I shall take you to My kingdom and show you a great glory, greater than all the perishable glory and kingdom of this world. I am aware, O mother, of the fact that you were for many days in pains for Me, and that you endured tribulations for My sake,<sup>3</sup> in travelling from country to country and from town to town ; now I have come to take you in order that you might travel with Me to the city of the living God. You have toiled enough, O mother, come to the abode of joy and eternal rest.<sup>4</sup> You have toiled with Me, O mother, in the sorrow that overtook you on the day of the Crucifixion, come now and I will take you to the comfort of My kingdom.

"You have toiled, O mother, and your heart has suffered for Me, make haste and accompany Me to the eternal hymn of joy and to a repose that has no end. You have toiled, O mother, in your weeping at the door of the sepulchre, come now and see My glory and the

<sup>1</sup> This last sentence is not found in M. 355.

<sup>2</sup> P. adds: "To receive good rewards from him."

<sup>3</sup> P. omits these sentences.

<sup>4</sup> This sentence is not found in P.

majesty of My throne,<sup>1</sup> sitting as I am in the middle of thousands and myriads of angels. You have wept for Me, O mother, on the *Kranion*<sup>2</sup> and Golgotha, make haste and come to the eternal heights. O mother, your feet were tired in the streets of the earthly Jerusalem, come now and see the beauty of the heavenly Jerusalem. O mother, you were hungry and thirsty for My sake, come now and have your satisfaction in the pleasures of heaven in My kingdom. O mother, you wept in the house of John for My sake, come now and hear the melodies of the exultations of the Cherubim and Seraphim<sup>3</sup> who glorify Me, My Father and the Holy Spirit."

This is what the Saviour said to His mother to comfort her. Then she passed away and He sent her before Him on the wings of the Cherubim. As to the Apostles, they sorrowed greatly, bowed down, worshipped Him and asked Him saying: "O Lord, what is this sorrow that you have prepared for us, in taking away your mother, and in separating her from us? She used to comfort us, your disciples, since the day you left us and ascended to heaven. To-day great sorrow has filled our heart, and we became bereft of your sight<sup>4</sup> and the sight of your virgin mother, and deprived of her salutary teaching." And the Saviour replied saying: "O my beloved and O my members, do not be sad on account of the passing away of My mother from you. She has not died, but she has gone to the dwellings of rest, joy and eternal life.<sup>5</sup> She toiled much with Me in this world, and now I have taken her up<sup>6</sup> to heaven, and you will soon see her and she will see you, because you are bound to face the death imposed on mankind. I shall take her and travel with her in the dwellings of the pious, and she shall see the Kingdom of Heaven and know My great love for her.<sup>7</sup>

"Did I not send you another time<sup>8</sup> to the third heaven and you saw the heavenly Jerusalem in which your names are inscribed? Did

<sup>1</sup> P.: "That you may see in the glory of My Father."

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.*, Calvary. See the beginning of the story.

<sup>3</sup> The MSS. exhibit slight differences here.

<sup>4</sup> P. omits.

<sup>5</sup> P.: "She has not gone from the world for pain, but she went in order to rest in the dwellings of rest, life and eternal joy."

<sup>6</sup> P.: "You saw her ascending to."

<sup>7</sup> P.: "In rest and eternal life. I comforted her with this in order that she may know my great love for her."

<sup>8</sup> P.: "Several times."



not the Father call you children because you became My beloved disciples? How could I not give heaven to My virgin mother in whose womb I remained nine months, from whose breasts I sucked milk like other children, and on whose lap I sat like other babes? How could I not comfort her heart and remove from it the sadness and sorrow which she experienced in this world for My sake? Lo the kings of the earth wish to summon her in order to bestow their honours upon her, but which earthly king is able to bestow upon her honours on earth as she deserves? Lo, the seven doors are open before her and the twelve doors<sup>1</sup> of the heavenly Jerusalem are also thrown open before her. The greeting of the Father has reached her, saying, 'Be welcome, O Mary; the habitations of Heaven will submit to you, and the seven trumpets<sup>2</sup> will sing before you. The sea of fire will serve<sup>3</sup> before you, and the sun and the moon will be at your feet. All the choirs of heaven will sing before you, and heaven and earth will dance with canticles on the day of your Assumption.'"

This is what the Lord said to His disciples concerning His holy mother. Then He turned to John, His beloved, and said to him: "You shall have to stand before Tiberius Cæsar, and bear witness to him about what you saw the Jews doing to Me on the wood of the cross." The Saviour said these words to His holy disciples and disappeared from their sight.

Some days later the troops which the Emperor Tiberius had sent to Jerusalem arrived, accompanied by Palace officials and female attendants from the Queen. They carried also with them the crown of the kingdom, royal garments, glorious dresses, and precious and princely robes. They scoured all the land of Judæa in search of the Virgin, but they did not find her because she had left this world and ascended to heaven.<sup>4</sup> They took, however, the blessed John and brought him to

<sup>1</sup> About the twelve doors of heaven see the *Syriac History of the Blessed Virgin*, pp. 120-121 of the text (edit. Budge). Each door symbolised an Apostle of Christ. As to the seven doors they are the ordinary doors of the traditional seven heavens.

<sup>2</sup> M. 355: "the lions at the gate." The seven trumpets are, however, mentioned in the *Mysteries of St. John the Apostle*, edited and translated by Budge in the *Coptic Apocrypha*, p. 247. They are said there to be appointed over the heavenly dew.

<sup>3</sup> P., "will be quenched."

<sup>4</sup> P.: "and did not find her at all because she had gone to heaven."

the Emperor Tiberius. When the Emperor saw him he said to him : "Are you John, the beloved of the Lord and the friend of Jesus ?" And John answered and said : "By the will of God and His grace, I am, O my lord Emperor, the one who is called by this name.<sup>1</sup> And now, O my lord, who is worthy to unloose his shoe's latchet ? Who is able to grasp the rays of the sun or to embrace lightning ? The judgments of God are light and truth, O Emperor, and the light of truth condescended to come to us from the essence of God, and humbling Himself, He called us His brothers, friends, and Apostles.<sup>2</sup> By your life, O my lord Emperor, He never called us slaves, but always brothers and friends."<sup>3</sup>

Then the Emperor said to him : "Having performed all these miracles and prodigies, how could the Jews pierce His heart with a spear ?" And the blessed John replied : "The life of all of us consists of water and blood, and both of them sprang from His holy side. Before His crucifixion His virgin mother nudged Him at His side in Cana of Galilee, because people were in need of wine, and said to Him : 'O my beloved Son, they have no wine to drink at the wedding.' And our Lord turned and said to her : 'O woman, you have placed in advance your finger on the spot at which they will pierce My side.<sup>4</sup> You have asked Me, O mother, to make wine mixed with water in order that the guests of the wedding might drink of it ; in this you have placed in advance your hand in the spring of water and blood which will jet forth from my side, and from which I shall give the faithful to drink.' It is not good, O Emperor, that you should study too deeply the greatness of His divinity, that is to say of God and His works which the intelligence of men is unable to comprehend."<sup>5</sup>

And the Emperor said to him : "Are you the disciple who was standing near Him at the time of His Crucifixion ?" And John replied : "Yes, I was present there and saw all that the Jews did to our Lord Jesus Christ on the wood of the cross." And the Emperor

<sup>1</sup> M. 355 : "by His will and His love He called me by this name."

<sup>2</sup> P : "He came down to us, poor people, and called us His brothers, the friends of His Father, on account of His love for men."

<sup>3</sup> P. adds : "of His Father."

<sup>4</sup> M. 355 adds : "in order to give the faithful to drink."

<sup>5</sup> M. 355 omits the last sentence.



said to him : " You will then know how to paint His image for me in the figure<sup>1</sup> which He had on the cross, exactly as He was crucified for us." And John replied : " Yes, I will paint Him." And the Emperor ordered a slab of good stone,<sup>2</sup> and the blessed John painted the figure of the Saviour on it<sup>3</sup> according to the order of the Emperor. When it was finished the blessed John bent his head over it in order to kiss it with his mouth, and immediately after the lips of the Saviour turned to the lips<sup>4</sup> of the blessed John, and they kissed each other.

The Emperor Tiberius witnessed all this, and he was greatly amazed and bewildered. Then the icon which represented the image of our Lord cried and said : " It is enough, O John, that you painted my image and the figure of my crucifixion, as you witnessed it on the day of the crucifixion. It was not fair on your part, you my beloved, to crucify me after my resurrection from the dead ;<sup>5</sup> it would have been better if you had painted my figure according to the image you saw of me after my resurrection. The Jews crucified me once at the hand of Herod, why do you crucify me again at the hand of Tiberius ?<sup>6</sup> The soldiers divided my garments among themselves in Jerusalem once, do not allow the inhabitants of Rome also to see my nudity. My side was pierced with a spear on Friday,<sup>7</sup> do not pierce me, O John, my beloved, another time after my resurrection. I called Judas<sup>8</sup> my friend, and he delivered me to death ; but I love you, O John, more than all the world, do not leave me, therefore, in the sufferings of the crucifixion, because I rose from the dead. You know, O John, the joy that you experienced, you and my virgin mother, on the day of my resurrection, since, therefore, I rose from the dead, do not leave me in the passion of the cross. Know, O John, that my resurrection was joy and gladness to all the earth."<sup>9</sup>

After the image said this to John, the voice was heard no more.

<sup>1</sup> M. 355 has here *haibah*, " dignity." I take this to be a mistake for *hai'ah*, " image, figure." This shows clearly that the original from which the MS. was transcribed was written in undotted Arabic characters in which there is no graphic difference between the two words. I believe that the variant could not have arisen otherwise.

<sup>2</sup> P. omits " stone."

<sup>3</sup> M. 355 ; " on this slab of marble." P. omits " marble."

<sup>4</sup> P. " Adhered to the lips."

<sup>5</sup> M. 355 omits this sentence.

<sup>6</sup> There are considerable verbal differences here in the two MSS.

<sup>7</sup> M. 355 adds here " which was passover day."

<sup>8</sup> M. 355, " John."

<sup>9</sup> P. omits this sentence.

When the Emperor heard these wonderful words, his mind came back to him and he rose on his feet, kissed the head of John and said : "You are truly the disciple of Jesus Christ whom He loved, and you are His friend." And the Emperor took the image and embraced it, then he placed it on a high pedestal at that place, like the image of the Son of God in the country of the Byzantines.<sup>1</sup> Then the Emperor gave much money to John and bestowed many benefits on him, but he refused to take anything. Then he went out of the city, and a column of light carried him away and brought him to the Mount of Olives. He greeted the Apostles, his brethren, and narrated to them what he did in Rome, and all what happened to him with the Emperor Tiberius.

After this the Apostles desired to see the Virgin Mary and said : "We have seen our brother John, perchance we shall not be unworthy to see our lady, the Virgin Mary,<sup>2</sup> before our death." While the Apostles were saying this, lo the pure Virgin appeared to them in great glory. They fell on their faces before the majesty of the precious robe which she was wearing. She came to James and John and raised them first, then she raised the rest of the Apostles, and began to tell them about a part only of the heavenly glory found in the abode of rest, and informed them that she saw Pilate, his wife and his children in a great glory while the cross of Her Son was shining on them. After having told them this she disappeared from their sight.<sup>3</sup>

And I Gamaliel had learnt the art of writing, the science of Judaism<sup>4</sup> and that of the Apostles our Fathers, and had also stepped in the science of the philosophers until I had acquired the knowledge of the right answer, and learnt the mystery of the resurrection of the Lord Christ,<sup>5</sup> and the miracles which He performed, and what happened to the vizier of the Emperor, and to Galilus and the

<sup>1</sup> P. : "In the country of the Armenians, down to our own day." On the different representations of the Christ see Smith's and Cheetham's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, i. 511-518 and 874-880. I do not precisely know to which image the author refers as found in Asia Minor or Armenia. There seems to be no relation whatever between the picture of our Lord as drawn by John the Apostle and the account of the *History of the Likeness of Christ*, edited and translated by Budge in 1899, pp. 157-210 (of the text).

<sup>2</sup> There are here verbal differences in the narration.

<sup>3</sup> M. 355 omits this sentence.

<sup>4</sup> P. : "And the books of our fathers."

<sup>5</sup> M. 355 : "the mystery of the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ and His resurrection from the dead."



Emperor Tiberius, and I put all to writing and composed it as a memorial<sup>1</sup> of the holy resurrection.

(The final words of the story in M. 127 which should have stood above on p. 274 are) :

I beseech you, O brethren, I the weak Cyriacus, to pray for me in order that God may forgive my mistakes (through) His Son Jesus Christ who suffered for us by His will, and release all those who are bound with the fetters of sin. We ask Him to forgive us our sins and all the bad deeds of our past life, which we have committed with knowledge or without knowledge. As He has rendered us here worthy of His knowledge, may He assemble us all in His heavenly Kingdom, through the grace and mercy of our Saviour Jesus Christ to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

(The final words of the story in M. 355 are) :

And I beseech you to pray for me and to forgive me, me the weak Hyriacus. Pray for me so that the Lord may forgive me my mistakes, He who is the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God, who suffered for us by His will. May He release all those who are bound with the fetters of sin, He who is the Christ of the worlds and the Saviour of all ! We ask Him to forgive us our sins and all the bad deeds of our past lives, which we committed with knowledge or which we committed without knowledge. May He forgive them all in the greatness of His mercy ! And as He has assembled us here may He render us worthy to assemble in His kingdom, in the heavenly Jerusalem ! May the Grace and mercy of our Saviour Jesus Christ be with us. To Him be glory in conjunction with His good Father and the Holy Spirit, now, always and for ever and ever, Amen. Praise be to God the Lord of the worlds.<sup>2</sup> It has ended by the help of God.

(The final words and the colophon of P. are) :—

. . . Because He, the men-loving God, who saved us by His cross, will also save us and forgive us in His divinity. As He has rendered us worthy of the joy of His resurrection may He render us also worthy to assemble in His eternal kingdom, in order that we may

<sup>1</sup> P : "I wrote all these to you and placed it as a memorial." As stated above M. 127 places this colophon of Gamaliel after the crucifixion of Pilate where he ends the story.

<sup>2</sup> A Qur'ānic expression.

bless and glorify His holy name. To Him are due glory, honour, and worship in conjunction with His good Father and the Holy Spirit, now, always and for ever and ever, Amen. Here ends by the help of God the *Martyrdom of Pilate*, of his wife and children. May their intercession be with all the children of baptism. Amen. And the weak copyist, who is a sinner, implores all those who come across this life, and all those who read it and hear it to ask for the forgiveness of his sins. He who says a bad word shall be met with its equal, but he who finds a mistake and corrects it, the Lord will improve for him this world and the world to come with His peace. Amen.